NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

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Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy, } Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

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H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

"The Peculiar Institution."

MELANCHOLY LOSS OF PROPERTY.

The following list of advertisements I cut from the National Intelligencer of a week or two ago, where they stand in precisely the order they do here, making nearly half a column of that paper. The signers of the fourth advertisement seem to be in great distress. That their negroes should have run away "without any cause," is peculiarly aggravating:

$50 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, living near the town of Upper Marlboro', Prince George's county, Maryland, negro man WASHINGTON JOHNSON; he is about twenty years of age, five feet five or six inches high, dark complexion, small features, but well made, full suit of hair; has a scar on one of his cheeks, caused by a kick from a horse; has a down look, and a very awkward, timid appearance when spoken to; had on when he left, fustian pantaloons and cotton shirt; but I suppose he has changed his dress, as he took a variety of clothing with him, both summer and winter, such as over and close cloth coats and pantaloons of different kinds. I will give twenty-five dollars if taken in the county or State, and the above reward if taken out of the State. He must be delivered to me or secured in jail. W. F. BERRY,
Upper Marlboro', Prince George's county, Md.
June 13.

$100 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, on Saturday evening, the 10th instant, my servant George Edwin, who is usually called Ned Rustin. He is about twenty-two years of age, very dark complexion, five feet four or five inches high, stout and well made. The only mark recollected is a defect in one of his fingers, occasioned by a hurt. As he went off without any provocation, I expect it is his intention to get to some free State, as there were fifteen or twenty left the neighborhood at the same time. I will give the above reward if taken in any free State, or fifty dollars if taken in the State of Maryland or District of Columbia. In either case he must be delivered to me, or secured in jail so that I get him again. ANN HARRISON,
May 17. Pomonkey, Charles county, Md.

$200 REWARD.—I will give two hundred dollars reward for the apprehension and delivery to me in person, of my three negro men, Daniel, Edward, and Sewall.

Daniel is a mulatto, from forty to forty-five years of age, about six feet high, rather slender, but well made. He formerly belonged to the estate of the late Robert Davis, near Charlotte Hall, St. Mary's county. He left in September, 1844.

Edward is of a copper color, about twenty-five years of age, about five feet six to ten inches high, stout and well made. I purchased this fellow of the estate of the late Littleton T. Adams. He left on the 25th instant.

Sewall is black, about thirty-two or thirty-three years of age, about five feet six to eleven inches high, well made. He left some time in January last.

The above reward will be given for the three, or $100 for Daniel, and $50 for either of the other two, no matter where taken, upon their delivery to me in person, or secured in jail, so that I get them again,
JOHN D. BOWLING.
Feb. 28. Aquasco, Prince George's county, Md.

LOOK HERE, LOOK HERE!—$700 REWARD. Ran away from the subscribers on Saturday night, the 10th of May, from the neighborhood of Pomonkey Post Office, Charles county, Maryland, the following negroes hereafter described, viz:

John is about twenty-five years of age, stout made, and a little bow-legged, light copper color.

Baptist is about twenty-one years of age, middling size, rather lighter color than John—both very likely. They had their summer clothing, consisting of cotton Osnaburg shirts, a pair of cotton drilling pantaloons, brown; they had a variety of other clothing not necessary to mention; no marks recollected.

Hillary, who calls himself Hillary Chandler, is about twenty-eight years old, five feet eleven inches high, light copper color, rather thin visage, with a pleasant countenance when spoken to; no marks recollected.

Judson is about twenty-four years of age, about the same height as Hillary, pretty black, grum countenance, with a very prominent forehead; clothes not recollected.

George is a very likely fellow, about nineteen years of age, stout well-set fellow, nearly the same height as Judson, and same color.

Sandy is about thirty-five years of age, of dark copper color, remarkably polite and pleasant when spoken to; he is notably marked on one of his ears—whether the right or the left, do not recollect—occasioned by a bite, the top part has been bitten off; he has had also one of his thighs broken, which causes him to limp slightly when walking.

Their object is to get to a free State, as they left without any cause. We will give the above reward for the apprehension of the said negro slaves, and delivery to the subscribers, or secured in jail, so that we get them again, or one hundred dollars for either of them.

Address to Pomonkey Post Office, Charles county, Md. to either one of the subscribers.
WILLIAM THOMPSON,
JOHN H. DIGGS.
Mrs. ANN WARD,
Miss EMELINE WARD.
May 16.

RAN AWAY from Ossian Hall, Fairfax county, Virginia, on the night of Saturday, the 7th instant, a negro girl named Jane Lee, aged thirteen years. At about half-past nine o'clock she was sent to a quarter, a few yards from the house, with a message, which she delivered, but has not been heard of since. At ten minutes before ten o'clock she could not be found. At the time she was sent to the quarter there were some negroes there from the neighborhood, who left immediately after. She is supposed either to be concealed in the neighborhood or in Washington. At the time she left she had on a cotton plaid frock very much faded, check apron, no shoes or bonnet. She moves remarkably slow, stoops forward very much in walking, and had her hair cut very close to the head. I will give the following reward on her being returned to me, viz: $25, if taken in Washington county, $15 if taken in Alexandria county, and $10 if in Fairfax county.
FRANCIS A. DICKINS.
June 12.

Pro-Slavery.

From the South Carolinian.

GOVERNOR HAMMOND'S LETTER ON SOUTHERN SLAVERY.

SILVER BLUFF, S. C. Jan. 28, 1845.

SIR:—I received a short time ago, a letter from the Rev. Willoughby M. Dickinson, dated at your residence, Playford Hall, near Ipswich, 26th November, 1844," in which was inclosed a copy of your Circular Letter addressed to professing Christians in our Northern States, having no concern with Slavery, and to others there. I presume that Mr. Dickinson's letter was written with your knowledge, and the document inclosed with your consent and approbation. I therefore feel that there is no impropriety in my addressing my reply directly to yourself, especially as there is nothing in Mr. Dickinson's communication requiring serious notice. Having abundant leisure, it will be a recreation to me to devote a portion of it to an examination and free discussion of the question of Slavery as it exists in our Southern States: and since you have thrown down the gauntlet to me, I do not hesitate to take it up.

Familiar as you have been with the discussions of this subject in all its aspects, and under all the excitements it has occasioned for sixty years past, I may not be able to present much that will be new to you. Nor ought I to indulge the hope of materially affecting the opinions you have so long cherished, and so zealously promulgated. Still, time and experience have developed facts, constantly furnishing fresh tests to opinions formed sixty years since, and continually placing this great question in points of view, which could scarcely occur to the most consummate intellect even a quarter of century ago: And which may not have occurred yet to those whose previous convictions, prejudices, and habits of thought have thoroughly and permanently biassed them to one fixed way of looking at the matter: While there are peculiarities in the operation of every social system, and special local as well as moral causes materially affecting it, which no one, placed at the distance you are from us, can fully apprehend or properly appreciate. Besides, it may be possibly, a novelty to you to encounter one who conscientiously believes the domestic Slavery of these States to be not only an inexorable necessity for the present, but a moral and humane institution, productive of the greatest political and social advantages, and who is disposed, as I am, to defend it on these grounds.

I do not propose, however, to defend the African Slave-Trade. That is no longer a question. Doubtless great evils arise from it as it has been, and is now conducted: unnecessary wars and cruel kidnapping in Africa: the most shocking barbarities in the middle passage: and perhaps a less humane system of slavery in countries continually supplied with fresh laborers at a cheap rate. The evils of it, however, it may be fairly presumed, are greatly exaggerated. And if I might judge of the truth of transactions stated as occurring in this trade, by that of those reported as transpiring among us, I should not hesitate to say, that a large proportion of the stories in circulation are unfounded, and most of the remainder highly colored.

On the passage of the Act of Parliament prohibiting this trade to British subjects, rests what you esteem the glory of your life. It required twenty years of arduous agitation, and the intervening extraordinary political events, to convince your countrymen, and among the rest your pious King, of the expediency of this measure: and it is but just to say, that no one individual rendered more essential service to the cause than you did. In reflecting on the subject, you must often ask yourself: What after all has been accomplished; how much human suffering has been averted; how many human beings have been rescued from transatlantic slavery? And on the answers you can give these questions, must in a great measure, I presume, depend the happiness of your life. In framing them, how frequently must you be reminded of the remark of Mr. Grosvenor, in one of the early debates upon the subject, which I believe you have yourself recorded, "that he had twenty objections to the abolition of the Slave-Trade: the first was, *that it was impossible*—the rest he need not give." Can you say to yourself, or to the world, that this *first* objection of Mr. Grosvenor has been yet confuted? It was estimated at the commencement of your agitation, in 1787, that forty-five thousand Africans were annually transported to America and the West Indies. And the mortality of the middle passage, computed by some at 5 is now admitted not to have exceeded 9 per cent. Notwithstanding your Act of Parliament, the previous abolition by the United States, and that all the powers in the world have subsequently prohibited this trade—some of the greatest of them declaring it piracy, and covering the African seas with armed vessels to prevent it—Sir Thomas Fowel Buxton, a coadjutor of yours, declared in 1840, that the number of Africans now annually sold into slavery beyond the sea, amounts, at the very least, to one hundred and fifty thousand souls; while the mortality of the middle passage has increased, in consequence of the measures taken to suppress the trade, to 25 or 30 per cent. And of the one hundred and fifty thousand slaves who have been captured and liberated by British men of war since the passage of your Act, Judge Jay, an American Abolitionist, asserts that one hundred thousand, or two-thirds, have perished between their capture and liberation. Does it not really seem that Mr. Grosvenor was a prophet? That though nearly all the "impossibilities" of 1787 have vanished, and become as familiar *facts* as our household customs, under the magic influence of steam, cotton, and universal peace, yet this wonderful prophecy still stands, defying time and the energy and genius of mankind. Thousands of valuable lives, and fifty millions of pounds sterling have been given away by your Government in fruitless attempts to overturn it. I hope you have not lived too long for your own happiness, though you have been spared to see that in spite of all your toils and those of your fellow-laborers, and the accomplishment of all that human agency could do, the African Slave-Trade has increased three-fold under your own eyes,—more rapidly, perhaps, than any other ancient branch of commerce—and that your efforts to suppress it have effected *nothing more* than a three-fold increase of its horrors. There is a God who rules this world—All powerful—Farseeing: He does not permit His creatures to foil His designs. It is He who, for His allwise, though to us often inscrutable purposes, throws "impossibilities" in the way of our fondest hopes and most strenuous exertions. Can you doubt this?

Experience having settled the point, that this trade *cannot be abolished by the use of force*, and that blockading squadrons serve only to make it more profitable and more cruel, I am surprised that the attempt is persisted in, unless it serves as a cloak to some other purposes. It would be far better than it now is, for the African, if the trade was free from all restrictions, and left to the mitigation and decay of which time and competition would surely bring about. If kidnapping, both secretly and by war made for the purpose, could be by any means prevented in Africa, the next greatest blessing you could bestow upon that country, would be to transport its actual slaves in comfortable vessels across the Atlantic. Though they might be perpetual bondsmen, still they would emerge from darkness into light—from barbarism to civilization—from idolatry to Christianity—in short from death to life.

But let us leave the African Slave-Trade, which has so signally defeated the *philanthropy* of the world, and turn to American Slavery, to which you have now directed your attention, and against which a crusade has been preached as enthusiastic and ferocious as that of Peter the Hermit—destined, I believe, to be about as successful. And here let me say, there is not a vast difference between the two, though you may not acknowledge it. The wisdom of ages has concurred in the justice and expediency of establishing rights by prescriptive use, however tortious in their origin they may have been. You would deem a man insane whose keen sense of equity would lead him to denounce your right to the lands you hold, and which perhaps you inherited from a long line of ancestry, because your title was derived from a Saxon or Norman conqueror, and your lands were originally wrested by violence from the vanquished Britons. And so would the New England Abolitionist regard any one who would insist that he should restore his farm to the descendants of the slaughtered red men, to whom God had as clearly given it as he gave life and freedom to the kidnapped African. That time does not consecrate wrong, is a fallacy which all history exposes; and which the best and wisest men of all ages and professions of religious faith have practically denied. The means, therefore, whatever they may have been, by which the African race now in this country have been reduced to slavery, cannot affect us, since they are our property, as your land is yours, by inheritance or purchase, and prescriptive right. You will say that man cannot hold *property in man*. The answer is, that he can and *actually does* hold property in his fellow all the world over, in a variety of forms, and *has always done so*. I will show presently his authority for doing it.

If you were to ask me whether I was an advocate of slavery in the abstract, I should probably answer, that I am not, according to my understanding of the question. I do not like to deal in abstractions. It seldom leads to any useful ends. There are few universal truths. I do not now remember any single moral truth universally acknowledged. We have no assurance that it is given to our finite understanding to comprehend abstract moral truth. Apart from Revelation and the Inspired Writings, what ideas should we have even of God, salvation, and immortality? Let the heathen answer. Justice itself is impalpable as an abstraction, and abstract liberty the merest phantasy that ever amused the imagination. This world was made for man, and man for the world as it is. Ourselves, our relations with one another, and with all matter are real, not ideal. I might say that I am no more in favor of Slavery in the abstract, than I am of poverty, disease, deformity, idiocy, or any other inequality in the condition of the human family; that I love perfection, and think I should enjoy a Millenium such as God has promised. But what would it amount to? A pledge that I would join you to set about eradicating those apparently inevitable evils of our nature, in equalizing the condition of all mankind, consummating the perfection of our race, and introducing the Millenium? By no means. To effect these things belongs exclusively to a higher power. And it would be well for us to leave the Almighty to perfect His own works, and fulfil His own covenants. Especially, as the history of all the past shows how entirely futile all human efforts have proved, when made for the purpose of aiding him in carrying out even his revealed designs, and how invariably he has accomplished them by unconscious instruments, and in the face of human expectation. Nay, more, that every attempt which has been made by fallible man to extort from the world obedience to his "abstract" notions of right and wrong, has been invariably attended with calamities, dire and extended, just in proportion to the breadth and vigor of the movement. On Slavery in the abstract, then, it would not be amiss to have as little as possible to say. Let us contemplate it as it is. And thus contemplating it, the first question we have to ask ourselves, is, whether it is contrary to the will of God, as revealed to us in His Holy Scriptures—the only certain means given us to ascertain His will. If it is, then Slavery is a sin. And I admit at once that every man is bound to set his face against it, and to emancipate his slaves should he hold any.

Let us open these Holy Scriptures. In the twentieth chapter of Exodus, seventeenth verse, I find the following words: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's"—which is the tenth of those commandments that declare the essential principles of the great moral law delivered to Moses by God himself. Now, discarding all technical and verbal quibbling, as wholly unworthy to be used in interpreting the Word of God, what is the plain meaning, undoubted intent, and true spirit of this commandment? Does it not emphatically and explicitly forbid you to disturb your neighbor in the enjoyment of his prosperity; and more especially of that which is here specifically mentioned as being lawfully, and by this commandment made sacredly his? Prominent in the catalogue stands his "man servant and his maid servant," who are thus distinctly *consecrated as his property* and guarantied to him for his exclusive benefit in the most solemn manner. You attempt to avert the otherwise irresistible conclusion, that Slavery was thus ordained by God, by declaring that the word "slave" is not used here, and is not to be found in the Bible. And I have seen many learned dissertations on this point from abolition pens. It is well known that both the Hebrew and Greek words translated "servant" in the Scripture, means also and most usually "slave." The use of one word instead of the other was a mere matter of taste with the translators of the Bible, as it has been with all the commentators and religious writers, the latter of whom have, I believe, for the most part adopted the term slave, or used both terms indiscriminately. If, then, these Hebrew and Greek words include the idea of both systems of servitude, the conditional and unconditional, they should, as the major includes the minor proposition, be always translated "slaves," unless the sense of the whole text forbids it. The real question, then, is, what idea is intended to be conveyed by the words used in the commandment quoted? And it is clear to my mind that as no limitation is affixed to them, and the express intention was to secure to mankind, the peaceful enjoyment of every species of property, that the terms "bondmen and bondmaids" include all classes of servants, and establish a lawful, exclusive, and indefeasible interest equally in the "Hebrew brother who shall go out in the seventh year," and "the yearly hired servant," and those "purchased from the Heathen round about," who were to be "bondmen forever," *as the property of their fellow-man*. You cannot deny that there were among the Hebrews "bondmen forever." You cannot deny that God especially authorized his chosen people to purchase "bondmen forever" from the Heathen, as recorded in the *twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus*, and that they are there designated by the very Hebrew word used in the tenth commandment. Nor can you deny that a "BONDMAN FOREVER" is a "SLAVE;" yet you endeavor to hang an argument of immortal consequence upon the wretched subterfuge that the precise word "slave" is not to be found in the *translation* of the Bible. As if the translators were canonical expounders of the Holy Scriptures, and *their words*, not *God's meaning*, must be regarded as His Revelation.

It is vain to look to Christ or any of his apostles to justify such blasphemous perversions of the Word of God. Although Slavery in its most revolting form was everywhere visible around them, no visionary notions of piety, of philanthropy, ever tempted them to gainsay the LAW, even to mitigate the cruel severity of the existing system. On the contrary, regarding Slavery as an *established* as well as *inevitable condition of human society*, they never hinted at such a thing as its termination on earth, any more than that "the poor may cease out of the land," which God affirms to Moses shall never be: and they exhort "all servants under the yoke" to "count their masters as worthy of all honor:" to "obey them in all things according to the flesh: not with eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God:" "not only the good and gentle, but also the froward:" "for what glory is it if when ye are buffeted for your faults ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well and suffer for it ye take it patiently, this is acceptable of God." St. Paul actually apprehended a runaway slave and sent him to his master! Instead of deriving from the Gospel any sanction to the work you have undertaken, it would be difficult to imagine sentiments and conduct more strikingly in contrast than those of the apostles and the Abolitionists.

It is impossible, therefore, to suppose that Slavery is contrary to the will of God. It is equally absurd to say that American Slavery differs in form or principle from that of the chosen people. *We accept the Bible terms as the definition of our Slavery, and its precepts as the guide of our conduct.* We desire nothing more. Even the right to "buffet," which is esteemed so shocking, finds its express license in the Gospel. 1 *Peter, ii.* 20. Nay, what is more, God directs the Hebrews to "bore holes in the ears of their brothers" to *mark* them, when under certain circumstances they become *perpetual slaves: Ex. xxi.* 6.

I think, then, I may safely conclude, and I firmly believe, that American Slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by God through Moses, and approved by Christ through his apostles. And here I might close its defence; for what God ordains and Christ sanctifies, should surely command the respect and toleration of man. But I fear there has grown up in our time, a transcendental religion, which is throwing even transcendental philosophy into the shade—a religion too pure and elevated for the Bible: which seeks to erect among men a higher standard of morals than the Almighty has revealed or our Saviour preached; and which is probably destined to do more to impede the extension of God's Kingdom on earth than all the infidels who have ever lived. Error is error. It is as dangerous to deviate to the right hand as to the left. And when men, professing to be holy men, and who are by numbers so regarded, declare those things to be sinful which our Creator has expressly authorized and instituted, they do more to destroy His authority among mankind than the most wicked can effect by proclaiming that to be innocent which he has forbidden. To this self-righteous and self-exalted class belong all the Abolitionists whose writings I have read. With them it is no end of the argument to prove your propositions by the test of the Bible, interpreted according to its plain and palpable meaning, and as understood by all mankind for three thousand years before their time. They are more ingenious at construing and interpolating to accommodate it to their newfangled and etherial code of morals, than ever were Voltaire or Hume in picking it to pieces to free the world from what they considered a delusion. When the Abolitionists proclaim "man-stealing" to be a sin, and show me that it is so written down by God, I admit them to be right, and shudder at the idea of such a crime. But when I show them that to hold "bondmen forever" is ordained by God, *they deny the Bible, and set up in its place a law of their own making*. I must then cease to reason with them on this branch of the question. Our religion differs as widely as our manners. The Great Judge in our day of final account must decide between us.

Turning from the consideration of slaveholding in its relations to man as an accountable being, let us examine it in its influence on his political and social state. Though, being foreigners to us, you are in nowise entitled to interfere with the civil institutions of this country, it has become quite common for your countrymen to decry Slavery as an enormous political evil to us, and even to declare that our Northern States ought to withdraw from the Confederacy, rather than continue to be contaminated by it. The American Abolitionists appear to concur fully in these sentiments, and a portion at least of them are incessantly threatening to dissolve the Union. Nor should I be at all surprised if they succeeded. It would not be difficult, in my opinion, to conjecture which region, the North or South, would suffer most by such an event. For one, I should not object, by any means, to cast my lot in a Confederacy of States whose citizens might all be slaveholders. I endorse without reserve the much-abused sentiment of Gov. M'Duffie, that "Slavery is the corner-stone of our Republican edifice;" while I repudiate, as ridiculously absurd, that much-lauded, but nowhere accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson, that "all men are born equal." No society has ever yet existed, and I have already incidentally quoted the highest authority, to show that none ever will exist, without a natural variety of classes. The most marked of these must, in a country like ours, be the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant. It will scarcely be disputed that the very poor have less leisure to prepare themselves for the proper discharge of public duties than the rich; and that the ignorant are wholly unfit for them at all. In all countries save ours, these two classes, or the poor rather, who are presumed to be necessarily ignorant, are by law expressly excluded from all participation in the management of public affairs. In a republican Government this cannot be done. Universal suffrage, though not essential in theory, seems to be in fact, a necessary appendage to a republican system. Where universal suffrage obtains, it is obvious that the Government is in the hands of a numerical majority; and it is hardly necessary to say that in every part of the world, more than half the people are ignorant and poor. Though no one can look upon poverty as a crime, and we do not generally here regard it as any objection to a man in his individual capacity, still it must be admitted that it is a wretched and insecure Government which is administered by its most ignorant citizens, and those who have the least at stake under it. Though intelligence and wealth have great influence here as everywhere in keeping in check reckless and unenlightened numbers, yet it is evident to close observers, if not to all, that these are rapidly usurping all power in the non-slaveholding States, and threaten a fearful crisis in republican institutions there at no remote period. In the slaveholding States, however, nearly one-half of the whole population, and those the poorest and most ignorant, have no political influence whatever, because they are slaves. Of the other half, a large proportion are both educated and independent in their circumstances, while those who unfortunately are not so, being still elevated far above the mass, are higher toned and more deeply interested in preserving a stable and well ordered Government, than the same class in any other country. Hence, Slavery is truly the "corner-stone" and foundation of every well-designed and durable "republican edifice."

With us every citizen is concerned in the maintenance of order, and in promoting honesty and industry among those of the lowest class, who are our slaves; and our habitual vigilance renders standing armies, whether of soldiers or policemen, entirely unnecessary. Small guards in our cities, and occasional patrols in the country, ensure us a repose and security known nowhere else. You cannot be ignorant that, excepting the United States, there is no country in the world whose existing Government would not be overturned in a month, but for its standing armies, maintained at an enormous and destructive cost to those whom they are destined to over-awe—so rampant and combative is the spirit of discontent wherever nominal free labor prevails, with its ostensive privileges, and its dismal servitude. Nor will it be long before the "*Free States*" of this Union will be compelled to introduce the same expensive machinery to preserve order among their "free and equal" citizens. Already has Philadelphia organized a permanent battalion for this purpose: New-York, Boston, and Cincinnati will soon follow her example; and then the smaller towns and densely populated counties. The intervention of their militia to repress violations of the peace, is becoming a daily affair. A strong Government after some of the old fashions—though probably with a new name—sustained by the force of armed mercenaries, is the ultimate destiny of the non-slaveholding section of this Confederacy, and one which may not be very distant.

(To be continued.)

From the Richmond Whig.

SOMETHING THAT SHOULD BE LOOKED INTO.

Gentlemen—It was with some degree of surprise that I have lately been informed that there is now in our city three negro Sabbath Schools under operation. I was incredulous of the fact of their existence until last Sabbath morning. A spirit of inquiry caused me to visit St. James's Episcopal Church, where I saw assembled several hundred negro children, together with some grown ones. I asked what it meant, and was informed that it was a Sunday School for negroes. Whether there be restrictions or not as to the extent they are to be taught, I am not aware—but would respectfully ask those who are concerned in the matter to give the information.

I am clearly for allowing servants *all Religious privileges* CONSISTENT *with their condition*. It is a pleasure no doubt to them to assemble to worship God according to the lights he re them; it is a gratification to owners of slaves to see them thus interested; *but I am of opinion that it is clearly against the policy of our Slave Institutions to allow them to congregate in the capacity of Sunday School scholars, to receive instructions*, NO MATTER OF WHAT KIND. Those who are engaged in the occupation may assume it through motives of philanthropy, but I doubt very much if they have counted the injury that may result to the community at large, by a misguided idea of Christian kindness or benevolence. Do not construe my words into an intention to impugn the good motives of persons thus *engaged in this (to me) dangerous enterprise*, but only a desire to have this matter attended to before evils arise which would be difficult to quell.

If this measure is one that has been considered by the proper authorities, and granted because of a belief that it may ameliorate the condition of our slave population in any religious point of view, and that it has been sanctioned by the community who are to suffer any evil that may result from this plan, then it is enough that this matter should only be represented in its proper light in its infancy.

I have always conceived it a doubtful policy to allow negroes to worship in masses exclusively of slaves: those restrictions which must necessarily be placed upon them by the presence of white persons is removed, and they are left free to act upon any measure the inclinations of some of the more crafty may suggest. I hope this may call the attention of the public to this affair; those who feel interested in the matter should examine the law in relation to the course, before they proceed farther.

I am yours, &c. A CITIZEN.

Selections.

From the Cincinnati Morning Herald.

LETTER FROM HORACE GREELY TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI.

NEW-YORK, June 3d, 1845.

Dear Sir:—I received, weeks since, your letter inviting me to be present at a General Convention of opponents of human Slavery, irrespective of past differences and party organizations. I have delayed till the last moment my answer, hoping I might this season indulge a long-cherished desire and purpose by visiting your section and city, in which case I should certainly have attended your Convention. Being now reluctantly compelled to forego or indefinitely postpone that visit, I have no recourse but to acknowledge your courtesy in a letter.

In saying that I should have attended your Convention had I been able to visit Cincinnati this month, I would by no means be understood as implying that I would have claimed to share in its deliberations; still less that I should have been likely to unite in the course of action to which these deliberations will probably tend. Whether there "can true reconcilement grow" between those opponents of Slavery whom the late Presidential election arrayed against each other in desperate conflict, I do not venture to predict. Most surely, that large portion with whom I acted and still act, have been confirmed in our previous convictions of duty by the result of that election, and by the momentous consequences which it has drawn after it. Not merely with regard to this question of Slavery, but to all questions, I have by that result been warned against pledging myself to any special or isolated reform in such manner as to interfere with and fetter my freedom and ability to act decisively and effectively upon more general and immediately practical considerations of national interest and human well-being. You, and yours, I understand, have been confirmed in an opposite conviction. Time must decide on which side is the right.

But while I cannot hope that I should have been able to unite with you upon any definite course of action to be henceforth pursued by *all* opponents of Slavery, irrespective of past or present differences, I should have gladly met you, conferred with you, compared opinions, and agreed to act together so far as joint action is not forbidden by conflicting opinions. Animated by this spirit, I shall venture to set before you, and ask the Convention to consider, some views which I deem essential as bearing on the present condition and ultimate success of the Anti-Slavery movement.

What is Slavery? You will probably answer: "The legal subjection of one human being to the will and power of another." But this definition appears to me inaccurate on both sides—too broad, and at the same time, too narrow. It is too broad, in that it includes the subjection founded in the parental and similar relations; too narrow, in that it excludes the subjection founded in other necessities not less stringent than those imposed by statute. We must seek some truer definition.

I understand by Slavery, that condition in which one human being exists mainly as a convenience for other human beings—in which the time, the exertions, the faculties of a part of the human family are made to subserve, not their own development, physical, intellectual, and moral, but the comfort, advantage, or caprices of others. In short, wherever service is rendered from one human being to another, on a footing of one-sided and not of mutual obligation—when the relation between the servant and the served is one not of affection and reciprocal good offices, but of authority, social ascendency and power over subsistence on the one hand, and of necessity, servility, and degradation on the other—there, in my view, is slavery.

You will readily understand, therefore, that, if I regard your enterprise with less absorbing interest than you do, it is not that I deem Slavery a less but a greater evil. If I am less troubled concerning the Slavery prevalent in Charleston or New Orleans, it is because I see so much Slavery in New-York, which appears to claim my first efforts. I rejoice in believing that there is less of it in your several communities and neighborhoods; but that it does exist there I am compelled to believe. In esteeming it my duty to preach reform first to my own neighbors and kindred, I would by no means attempt to censure those whose consciences prescribe a different course. Still less would I undertake to say that the Slavery at the South is not more hideous in kind and degree than that which prevails at the North. The fact that it *is* more flagrant and palpable renders opposition to it comparatively easy and its speedy downfal certain. But how can I devote myself to a crusade against distant servitude, when I discern its essence pervading my immediate community and neighborhood? nay, when I have not yet succeeded in banishing it even from my own humble household? Wherever may lie the sphere of duty of others, is not mine obviously *here?*

Let me re-state what I conceive to be essential characteristics of human slavery:

1. Wherever certain human beings devote their time and thoughts mainly to obeying and serving other human beings, and this not because they choose to do so, but because they *must*, there (I think) is Slavery.

2. Wherever human beings exist in such relations that a part, because of the position they occupy and the functions they perform, are generally considered an inferior class to those who perform other functions, or none, there (I think) is Slavery.

3. Wherever the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community, that the far larger number are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the earth, there is something very like Slavery. (I rejoice that this state of things does not, as yet exist in our country.)

4. Wherever opportunity to labor is obtained with difficulty, and is so deficient that the employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms, and pay the laborer only such share as they choose of the product, there is a very strong tendency to Slavery.

5. Wherever it is deemed more reputable to live without labor than by labor, so that a gentleman would be rather ashamed of his descent from a blacksmith than from an idler or mere pleasure-seeker, there is a community not very far from Slavery. And

6. Wherever one human being deems it honorable and right to have other human beings mainly devoted to his or her convenience or comfort, and thus to live, diverting the labor of these persons from all productive or general usefulness to his or her own special uses, while he or she is rendering or has rendered no corresponding service to the cause of human well-being, there exists the spirit which originated and still sustains human Slavery.

I might multiply these illustrations indefinitely, but I dare not so to trespass on your patience. Rather allow me to apply the principles here evolved in illustration of what I deem the duties and policy of Abolitionists in reference to their cause. And here I would advise:

1. *Oppose Slavery in* ALL *its forms.* Be at least as careful not to *be* a slaveholder as not to *vote* for one. Be as tenacious that your own wives, children, hired men and women, tenants, &c. enjoy the blessings of rational liberty, as the slaves of South Carolina.

2. *Be at least as ardent in opposing the* NEAR *as the* DISTANT *forms of oppression.* It was by beginning at home that charity was enabled to perform such long journeys, even before the construction of railroads. And it does seem clear to my mind that if the advocates of Emancipation would unite in well-directed, persistent efforts to improve the condition of the blacks in their own States and neighborhoods respectively, they could hardly fail to advance their cause more rapidly and surely than by any other course. Suppose, for example, they were to resolve in each State to devote their political energies in the first place to a removal of the shameful, atrocious civil disabilities and degradations under which the African race now generally labor, and to this end were to vote systematically for such candidates, whom their votes could probably elect, (if such there were,) as were known to favor the removal of these disabilities; would not their success be sure and speedy? But

3. *Look well to the moral and social condition of the blacks in the free States.* Here is the refuge of the conscientious slaveholder. He declines emancipating, because he cannot perceive that emancipation has thus far conduced to the benefit of the liberated. If the mass of the blacks are to remain ignorant, destitute, unprincipled, degraded, (as he is told the free blacks are,) he thinks it better that his should remain slaves,

I know that the degradation of the blacks is exaggerated. I know that so much of it as exists is mainly owing to their past and present wrongs. But I feel also that the process of overcoming this debasement must be slow and dubious, while its causes continue to exist. I entreat, therefore, that those who have the ear of these children of Africa and of their philanthropic friends, shall consider the propriety of providing for them cities of refuge, townships—communities, I would say—wherein they may dwell apart from the mass of our people, in a social atmosphere of their own, not poisoned by the universal conviction of their inferiority, at least until they shall have had a chance to show whether they are or are not necessarily idle, thriftless, vicious, and content with degradation. I most earnestly believe the popular assumptions on these points erroneous; I ask that the blacks have a fair chance to prove them so. A single township in each free State mainly peopled by them, with churches, schools, seminaries for scientific and classical education, and all social influences untainted by the sense of African humiliation, would do more (if successful, as I doubt not) to pave the way for universal freedom, than reams of angry vituperation against slaveholders. These are in good part men of integrity and conscience; they see the wrong almost as clearly as you do: it is the *right* which they should see and cannot: will you enable them to see it?

Yours, respectfully,
HORACE GREELY.

From the Christian World.

THE NORTH OPPOSED TO SLAVERY.

In a partial report contained in the last "World," of the recent meeting of ministers, held to discuss their duties in relation to the subject of American Slavery, I observe a statement of some objections made to any associated Northern action in that behalf. It was contended that, "*the South must take it for granted that the North is right in this matter.*"

What I have to say, is upon this objection to Northern action. The truth is, that the North is *not* right in this matter; and the South has not and never has had any sufficient reason to believe the North to be right in relation to American Slavery. And, if in all other particulars we of the North were right touching the subject, there would be still remaining a load of responsibility unremoved, if the North suffered the institution of Slavery to go unrebuked and unassailed. Of what avail is it to think, and believe, theorize, and yet wear a voluntary gag? The South will be very willing "*to take it for granted*," that we are all "right," so long as it can purchase silence from us at so cheap a rate. But what is to be understood by being "right;" and what is it that the South is to take for granted? Some Southern statesmen and clergymen declare that Slavery itself is "right;"—are they to understand that the statesmen and clergymen of the North think so too? All throughout the domain of Slavery, and wherever its moral desolation goes, you will hear men and women of all social positions and all varieties of character, contending for the servitude of the blacks, as the condition assigned to them by an irreversible law of nature! Is the South to "take it for granted" that we echo that sentiment, fit only for the night of barbarism? From the lips of Southern travellers, we daily hear, and on the pages of Southern books and journals, we constantly read, not mere defences and apologies for the bondage of Southern laborers, but eulogies upon a system so benign and "patriarchal." Slavery is painted to us as the tie that binds willing hearts together, not the fetter whose iron has entered the souls of half the nation. The tender care of planters and planters' wives for the comfort of their human chattels, the fraternal friendships subsisting between little slaves and little masters, growing up side by side together, the watchful guardianship which Slavery so piously exercises over the whole life of the colored man, feeding him from his master's corn-crib, housing him in his master's cabin, curing his sickness with his master's medicine and by the skill of his physician, giving to him a whole lifetime of quiet, contented, and easy labor, requited by constant supply or every want incident to his condition, and the absence of anxiety and care, making the slave happier and better off than the free laborer of the South or North—these are among the pleasing and flattering features in the skilful pictures of the chattel system, painted by Southern hands. And is the North to preserve *silence* or only mutter below its breath an inaudible disapprobation of the fraud? And is it thus that the South is to get the data for its conclusion, when it shall decide to "take it for granted that the North is right in this matter." Shall we see millions of human beings chattelized, the laws of social and political economy systematically broken, the honor of our common country and its just influence among the nations compromised, Slavery claiming to be of divine origin, established under the old dispensation and permitted by the new, a shameless and shameful, inhuman slave traffic, between the States, as utterly remorseless as that other trade, now made piratical by law,—shall we see injustice in its most monstrous form made a part of the very frame-work of that political arrangement into which we ourselves have come, and yet keep silence? Have we not kept silence long enough yet? Has not the testimony of human nature itself been graven by the iron tooth of time into the tablets of eternal history against us—and will it not meet us in the judgment—the record of that fearful SILENCE? The slave mother, whose child, torn from her arms for the human flesh market, shrieks its despairing farewell cry; the slave, whose years of unpaid labor and accumulated wrongs, with the ghost of despair before him, the driver's whip behind, and the pall of unbroken *silence* hanging over him, have disclosed no shelter but the friendly grave; Humanity, mourning like Rachel for her children, and will not be comforted because they are not, have waited for the death-like charm to break, when united Christendom shall *speak* and not keep silence,—how long, O Lord, how long!

But the North is not right. It is not truly and in good faith opposed to Slavery; and so far as history has disclosed to us, it never has been, in any other sense than the South is also opposed to it. Few men, anywhere, have pretended that, in devising a pattern social state, in peopling their dream-land and giving to it elements of health, beauty, and joy, they would introduce Slavery. They support it, as having unfortunately found a place in the existing social order, having its compensations as well as its evils, not utterly to be condemned,

but they do not defend it as an ideal system; it makes no part of their kingdom of heaven. To what extent of earnest opposition to Slavery, beyond this, has the North ever been found to go? Its own freedom, now, from the presence of slavery upon the soil of the Northern States, is owing to anything rather than to better love of liberty. To tell the whole truth,—we are verily guilty in this matter of Slavery, perhaps beyond the guilt of the slaveholders of the South. We have actually countenanced the system and helped to give to it life and perpetuity, upon every important occasion, when we might have done something noble for the slave, and performed some brilliant and permanent service for freedom. The twenty years of life granted to the African Slave-Trade, and the other "compromises of the Constitution," as they are called; Slavery and the Slave-Trade sustained by Northern votes and Northern opinion in the District of Columbia and the national territories; the extension of Slavery over a vast extent of purchased territory, and the admission of new slaveholding States to the Union, but feebly and fitfully resisted by a small portion of the North; the recent daring and atrocious sacrifice to Slavery offered by Northern legislators, made confident both by the greedy zeal for dominion and aggrandizement of a part, and the moral apathy of the rest of the Northern community—all these afford most damning proof that the Southern people are not to "take it for granted that we are right," but that they have a sufficient reason to *know* that we are *wrong*—as wrong as they could decently ask.

So long as Massachusetts stands by these constitutional compromises, and especially, rather than to take a little hazard, and risk the thousandth part of what she would throw away "as the small dust of the balance," were a foreign power to insult a fishing smack on the banks of Newfoundland with the bit of striped bunting at the mast-head, chooses to leave, without an effort at repeal, that clause of the national Constitution by which Slavery and the Slave-Trade was made possible upon her soil—so long no power less than the direct interposition of Heaven can abolish Slavery, I believe, in a single State. Let any man put the question to himself, whether it were easier, as a Kentuckian or a Virginian, to help abolish Slavery, or, as a citizen of Massachusetts, to resist the "compromise," and say whether that declaration is not true. How slight the temptation thus to sin against evident light and the clearest knowledge—how paltry the motive here for this "base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery!" And is Massachusetts "right" until she stands erect?

The silence and the active support given to Slavery by the North, are the most fatal obstacles the friends of emancipation can ever encounter. If we are faithless, if we do not speak out, if we do not abolish Slavery for ourselves, and cease to be slaveholders for ourselves, what can they at the South do, whose hearts are stirred within them, for the accomplishment of emancipation? Does not the Southern mind need the presence of all the influence from without that can be commanded, both for conviction and encouragement? The combined moral force of Christendom ought to bear upon it like an atmosphere. The hard master needs it, as a testimony against him; the conscientious but darkened slaveholder needs it to open his eyes to his responsibility, and to enforce upon his mind the claims of right upon him; the thoughtful man, whose mind sees an evil present and a fearful future while he contemplates Slavery, and trembles, with Jefferson, when he remembers that God is just, needs it to give him hope and courage to struggle against the nightmare that oppresses him; the man who hates Slavery and longs for a better day, and is working in its midst, as best he can, needs it more than all, for with what answer shall he reply to his friends and neighbors who resist and try to stifle his remonstrance, when they cite our example against him? If there is any deliverance from Slavery, it must come first where the work of freedom is the easiest, and not where it is the hardest. No one expects emancipation in Georgia first, and Kentucky afterwards. And while there is but a slight tendency towards it in the latter State, there will be none, or next to none, in the former; so, until Ohio and Massachusetts, and the other free States, shall have become substantially abolitionized—so far so, that the people of those States shall be willing to go to the utmost verge of what their duty demands, and drive away the shadow even of Slavery from among them—there can be no just hope for Kentucky. Those who stand upon the higher rounds of the ladder must move still higher before those below can rise.

It is nothing, although the objection is seriously and conscientiously urged, that by being an open and earnest Abolitionist, one is in some danger of being confounded with other Abolitionists, who may hold opinions to which he does not agree. It is certain, that, so long as he does not declare himself and exert a positive influence against oppression, he is, and must be counted, as tolerant of Slavery, at the very least. He that is not for us, in a matter so vital to all the interests of the people of this Union, North and South, bond and free, upon a subject, which with no distant posterity, must present the great and paramount question for all minds, is against us. Silence and indifference are worse than opposition. There is no necessity for harsh, uncharitable abuse. But there is need for faithful champions of the truth and eternal justice. There is need of friends of the slave, friends of suffering man. There is need of clear heads and stout hearts, to look the evil that brutalizes master and slave, in the face, and boldly insist that it shall not last forever. It is a plain question of simple justice, of right and wrong between man and man. It is only this. Shall one man be the bond slave to any other who has dollars enough to buy him? Shall a *man* be made a *thing*, without rights—the sport and victim of every passion of his master? Whether it be right to wait some centuries more, before making the trial of truth preached by earnest lips, as a remedy for the wrong, judge ye. One thing now is plain; the revolution has begun, and it will not go backwards. The shout of freedom, which is now rising from every hill-side of the North, the voice of freedom's stern remonstrance, will not be hushed. Day by day it is gathering volume and intensity. It ceases not, and they slumber not, who utter it. Children hear it and repeat it, and the young men and maidens exult in it, as the music they love the best. Intolerance of Slavery, will be the deep and abiding sentiment of the whole generation next to succeed us. When that time comes, then indeed, will the North be "*right!*" and then, with one mighty, commanding note, the men of the North will speak out. You will silence them, when you have hushed Niagara.

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THE REVOLUTION IN CALIFORNIA.

Letters from Monterey to the Washington Union, furnish the following information respecting the Revolution in California:

About eight years ago Don Juan B. Alvarado, Don Jose Castro, and others, Californians by birth, aided by several foreigners, took possession of Monterey, the archives and Government property, chartered an English vessel, and sent the Mexican General, his officers and their families, to Lower California, and left them there to find their way to Mexico as they could. The Californians then proceeded to take possession of every part of California, with the different missions, and the many cattle belonging to the missions, and the different offices of honor and profit within this department. The Mexicans remaining in the country made an effort to put them down but failed.

President Bustamente, the second year after this revolution, confirmed the Californians in their different employments. During the time they held command, they ordered almost every Englishman and American to be arrested. Over one hundred were imprisoned in Monterey at one time—over fifty of those in a low damp room, less than 20 feet square without floor or windows. In May, the same year, many of the men were chained, six and eight to a bar, put into the hold of a vessel and sent to San Blas. Fifteen months afterward the Government of Mexico sent part of them back to Monterey, several dying from fatigue and privations.

In the year 1843, General Manuel Micheltorena arrived in California with some three or four hundred officers and soldiers, and by orders of President Santa Anna took command—putting out of office some of the Californians. Last November, Senors Castor, Alvarado, and many of their countrymen again rose with the determination of sending out of their country the Mexican troops. The two parties met and made a treaty. Within a month they each denied the treaty and again took up arms.

The Californians, to the number, of one hundred and fifty, went to the town of Angels, one hundred miles north of Monterey, and stormed it in the night with the loss of about two men. They were soon joined by the Californians at that place. On the 10th or 12th of January, Gov. General Micheltorena left Monterey with his officers, one hundred and fifty Mexican soldiers, some citizens of old Mexico, sixty or eighty wild Indians trained to arms by Captain Sutter, (a Swiss settler on the river Sacrament,) and one hundred foreigners; a part of whom are settled on the same river.

On the 20th of February, the two parties, (consisting of about six hundred men altogether, Mexicans, Californians, foreigners, and Indians,) got into action. Castro commenced the fight with cannon, firing large shot; and the Governor General on his side, returning his fire with grape. Both parties remained so far apart all that day as not to lose a man. On the next day, (the 21st,) the battle again commenced, and was continued in a warm and desperate contest. The Governor General, however, soon surrendered; for forty of fifty foreigners having left him some time before, the remainder refused to fight against their countrymen in the insurgent ranks. After the battle, a treaty was made by which it was agreed that every person on either side might go where he wished—the soldiers to go to San Blas or remain citizens of California.

California, from Bodega to San Diego, is now once more under its own command—the Russians having left Bodega, which now belongs to Capt. S. Smith, of Baltimore, (U. S. of America,) who is a naturalized citizen of California. Whether the natives of this country will keep peace among themselves, or be again conquered in a year or two by Mexico remains to be seen. If allowed to govern themselves, they acknowledge the Mexican flag, and their laws *when they please them.* Don Pico has become Governor, as he is the leading member of the House of Deputies or State Legislature; and John Jose Castro has become Commandant General of California, at the town of Angels, near San Pedro. They received this command by treaty with General M. Micheltorena, and they have chartered the American bark Don Quixote to bring the General and forces to Monterey.

The General and his officers are allowed six days to arrange their business and take on board their families; they then proceed to San Blas, thence to the city of Mexico. Capt. Sutter and all the foreigners who joined the Government forces have returned to their farms on the head waters of the San Francisco, as they found many of their countrymen with the insurgents. Both parties withdrew from the field of battle. Although the Mexican troops and Californians were firing several cannon with grape and ball at each other a part of two days, it is ascertained that not one man is even wounded—their respective situations being too secure, and the distance very great.

Affairs are now apparently quiet in the department of Upper California. The natives now hold the reins of government under the expectation that the supreme government of Mexico will confirm their different acts and appointments. At the same time many have their fears that some Commander, more severe than the former one, will arrive to punish them during the next year.

From the New Orleans Tropic June 18.

LATER FROM TEXAS.

The steamship New-York arrived here last evening from Galveston, bringing papers to the 13th instant, inclusive. Captain Elliott, the British Minister to Texas, came passenger in the New-York.

By this arrival we have received another proclamation from President Jones to the people of Texas, which we publish at length, as follows:—

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.
A PROCLAMATION.

The Executive is now enabled to declare to the people of Texas the actual state of their affairs with respect to Mexico, to the end that they may direct and dispose them as they shall judge best for the honor and permanent interests of the Republic.

During the course of the last winter, it reached the knowledge of the Executive from various sources of information, unofficial indeed, but still worthy of attention and credit, that the late and present Government of Mexico were disposed to a peaceful settlement of the difficulties with Texas, by the acknowledgment of our Independence, upon the understanding that Texas would maintain her separate existence. No action, however, could be taken upon the subject, because nothing authentic was known until the month of March last, when the representatives of France and Great Britain near this Government, jointly and formally renewed the offer of the good offices of those powers with Mexico, for the early and peaceful settlement of this struggle, upon the basis of the acknowledgment of our Independence by that Republic.

It would have been the imperative duty of the Executive at once to reject these offers if they had been accompanied by conditions of any kind whatever. But, with attentive watchfulness in that respect, and great disinclination to entangling alliances of any description, or with any power, he must declare in a spirit of justice, that no terms or conditions have ever been proposed by the two Governments in question, or either of them, as the consideration of their friendly interposition.

Maturely considering the situation of affairs at that time, the Executive felt that it was incumbent upon him not to reject this opportunity of securing to the people of this country, untrammelled by conditions, a peaceful, honorable, and advantageous settlement of their difficulties with Mexico, if they should see fit to adopt that mode of adjustment.

Thus influenced he accepted the good offices of the two powers, which, with those of the United States, had been previously invoked by Texas, and placed in the hands of their Representatives a statement of conditions preliminary to a treaty of peace, which he declared he should be ready to submit to the people of this country for their decision and action as soon as they were adopted by the Government of Mexico. But he emphatically reminded those functionaries, for the special notice of their Governments, that he was no more than the agent of the people; that he could neither direct, control, nor influence their decision; and that his bounden duty was to carry out their determination, constitutionally ascertained and expressed, be it what it might. Our representative, at the courts of France and Great Britain, in addition to the task of strengthening the friendly dispositions of those Governments, was also especially instructed to press upon their attention, that, if the people of Texas should determine to put an end to the separate existence of the country, the Executive, so far as depended upon his official action, must and would give immediate and full effect to their will.

The circumstances which preceded and led to an understanding with Mexico, have thus been stated: and the people speaking through their chosen organs, will now determine as they shall judge right. But in the mean time, and until their pleasure can be lawfully and constitutionally ascertained, it is the duty of the Executive to secure to the nation the exercise of choice between the alternatives of peace with the world and Independence, or Annexation and its contingencies; and he has therefore, to issue the following proclamation:

Whereas, Authentic proof has recently been laid before me, to the effect that the Congress of Mexico has authorized the Government to open negotiations and conclude a treaty with Texas, subject to the examination and approbation of that body, and further that the Government of Mexico has accepted the conditions prescribed on the part of Texas as preliminary to a final and definite treaty of peace;

Therefore, I, ANSON JONES, President of the Republic of Texas, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and Militia thereof, do hereby make known these circumstances to the citizens of this Republic, till the same can be more fully communicated to the Honorable Congress and Convention of the people, for their lawful action, at the period of their assembling on the 16th June and 4th July next, and pending the same action, by virtue of the authority in me vested, I do hereby declare and proclaim a cessation of hostilities, by land and by sea, against the Republic of Mexico, or against the citizens and trade thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the Great Seal of the Republic to be hereunto affixed.

Done at Washington this fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, and of the Independence of the Republic the tenth. By the President,

[L. S.]

ANSON JONES.

EBEN'ER ALLEN,
Attorney General and acting Secretary of State.

Communications.

Letter from G. W. F. Mellen.

BOSTON, June 2, 1845.

Messrs. Editors:—It was with regret I learnt last week, that the communication, I made to you about six weeks since, was burnt during your anniversary week, among your other papers; the more so, because, it may have been thought by some, who have looked for my answer to the query you proposed, that I have been unable to reply. I hope, therefore, you will admit this without delay, with this expression, that I had prepared an article and sent it to you the next week after you gave me permission to answer your questions, and about two weeks before your anniversaries. As I did not retain a copy of that communication, and have not now the papers with me that I then had, my answer may not be so complete as I could wish; but, I trust, enough can be said to satisfy the most sceptical on the subject.

In truth, to admit the contrary proposition, would soon overturn our whole system of free Government in theory, as it is now well nigh overthrown in fact. For if slaves may be returned, and we have thereby engaged to support the system, it would soon be found necessary, even on suspicion, to guard the "Peculiar Institution" from secret, as well as open foes; and, as in the case of South Carolina, other States may take away the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in all cases where there is a suspicion a man does not entertain such sentiments as might be wished in regard to it, and our rights as American citizens would be gone forever; even the States would not be able to protect its own citizens, and we should become outlaws in our own country.

But to return; the permission you gave me to answer the question, whether "we were not bound to return the fugitive slave? was not the question I proposed to discuss, but the general question of the rights, under our Constitution, of any person holding slaves at all. I will, however, answer this question, first premising, that the change of the question reminds me of an incident, that occurred in the New England Convention last year, where Mr. Pierpont was discussing the subject, and the audience were surprised in finding, the question before the meeting, was whether it was right to sign an instrument, in which there were some principles that were repugnant to good morals, all other parts being good and proper. Whether the same gentleman, had a hand in framing this query to me who caused the subject to be changed in that instance you can best tell. May the doors be opened a little wider? In answer, then, to the question, are we, under our Constitution, bound to return the runaway slave? I answer distinctly no! Neither we, as individuals, nor the Government are under any obligations whatever on the subject; and I will give the following facts as evidence.

In the first place, when the subject was under consideration, about the return of "fugitives of justice," from one State to another, Messrs. Butler and Pinckney, from *South Carolina*, proposed "that *fugitive slaves* and *servants* should be delivered up like criminals;" but this proposition received such a burst of opposition, particularly from Roger Sherman, that they at once withdrew the motion, and on the following day brought in a motion, in the following words: "If any person bound to service or labor in any of the United States, shall escape into another State, he or she shall not be discharged from such labor or service, in consequence of any regulation subsisting in the State to which they escape, but shall be delivered up to the person justly claiming their service or labor," which was agreed to nem. con. This resolution, as it will be perceived, was harmless enough, for it contained the expression "bound to service," which is the same as that applied to a class of persons who were received among the freemen, and as persons who were entitled to a full representation, a class of persons at that age quite numerous, and in the last clause, they must "*justly*" be entitled to claim their service or labor. With these provisions, on its first introduction there was no one to question its propriety; but in the course of the discussion, it would appear, some one wished to change the word service to servitude, and it was done; but finally the latter word was striken out and the word service restored at the suggestion of Mr. Lee, of Virginia, on the ground that "servitude" had relation to slaves, while "service" more particularly related to freemen. This fact will be noticed even in the argument offered by Mr. Phillips, a fact, which is of itself sufficient to settle the whole question, and I am surprised he did not notice it.

But it has been remarked, that the word "justly" was stricken out on the ground that it would imply, to return a runaway slave, could be legally done, agreeably to good morals, and therefore the passage meant slaves? To this I would answer, if any of the members of that Convention made such an observation, it evidently shews they were aware of the criminality of the act, and consequently of its utter negation, and that such a provision could not have any force in law, and therefore was a nullity. But this is not the end of it. After a few other verbal amendments, it goes into the hands of the committee on style; and who are they? all Northern men saving Mr. Madison, who, like Jefferson, was opposed to Slavery, though like him equally inconsistent in retaining his slaves. Governeur Morris, of Pennsylvania, was chairman, and it was he, who drafted the Constitution, and put it into shape, leaving out all redundant words, and putting in others, more fully to express the sense of the Convention. What new dress does this resolution put on as it comes from his hands? and be it remembered, he was the most decided, and the strongest Abolitionist in that Convention, and if anything can be judged from the expressions he elsewhere used, it may be supposed, he would not willingly suffer anything to pass him, whereby he could be involved in the criminality of fastening such a stain on the country—here is the clause as it now stands in the Constitution, and as reported by him.

"No person held to service on labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom *such labor or service* may be DUE."

There, if that last paragraph does not cause the whole clause to "execute itself," so far as it can relate to slaves, as in the words of the Judges of the Supreme Court, though they made use of the expression for a different purpose, in the case of Priggs *vs.* the State of Pennsylvania, then I know not the meaning of language.

Can a "chattel personal" "a *thing* in the hands of his master," *owe* anything? Can he who does not, and who cannot claim even a right to his own limbs *own* anything? certainly not. Consequently he cannot *owe* anything. In the very nature of the case, a person under such circumstances, must be legally debarred from either owing or owning anything, or making a contract for anything; he is a thing, and when you have said that his responsibility ceases, and such, undoubtedly, must have been the view entertained by Mr. Morris, and when he left in the expression, "bound to *service*" and made it obligatory for the person claiming the "services" to prove that it was DUE, before the person was delivered up, the whole clause was spoiled for the slaveholder, if proper inquiry and judgments should be or had been made.

We find then, that a proposition was brought forward by the members of South Carolina, who hovered about that Convention like birds of ill-omen, with a direct proposition, to return the runaway slave, when he went from one State to another; that the moral sense of the Convention was so shocked the movers had to withdraw their proposition immediately,—the Convention did not even entertain it, and when they brought forward another proposition, which they hoped would answer their purpose without expressing their object in direct terms, it received so many amendments, as utterly to destroy its character for the purpose.

Permit me to add a few words by the way of improvement. I perceive that a Mr. John McAuley, has a long communication in your paper of May 29th, in which is this expression, in speaking of the North and South, and and as he *thinks* or seems to *know*, there was a guilty compromise, and guarantee, "the first part (the North) contending for freedom, until it was found that the South would join the *Confederacy*" (a misnomer) "on no other condition than that of legalizing Slavery," (a thing they could not do,) "or admitting them into the *Union* with their *institution* of Slavery, *and* inserting an article in the Constitution, the caption of which is '*of fugitive slaves*?' The caption or title of the article shows beyond all controversy its design, &c.!!" Permit me to express my surprise, you should permit such an expression to gain admission into your paper without note. An assertion that has no foundation in fact, and which every schoolboy ought to know, is not the case;—there was no heading to any one of the articles, as published by the Convention, much less to the one, and such a one, to the clause under consideration; the same perversity of mind, or ignorance of his subject characterizes his whole article.

Perhaps some of your readers may ask, what ought to be a decision of the court under this clause of the Constitution? Clearly this: if a person who owes service runs from one State to another, or if a claim is made to the service or labor of a person, who is said to have fled or escaped from one State to another, a "*claim*" should be made for that service or labor, upon whom? Certainly not upon the person who has escaped, unless he is, of his own accord, willing to discharge the claim, and then the matter is settled; but if he refuses, a claim must be made upon some one, for in the words of the clause, "he must be claimed, and be delivered up to the person to whom such labor or service may be due;" and who is to "*deliver*" him up, for here it implies there must be a *delivery*, and consequently a *deliverer*. There must then be a claim and a delivery made on the one part and on the other, and not a simple *seizure* by the person claiming, as was decided in the case of Prigg vs. State of Pennsylvania. But of whom must the claim be made, and who is to be the deliverer? either the constituted authorities of the State, or of the United States, as might be decided upon; and if the person claimed is found to owe the service, it is time then to give him up, and not before. It is doubted whether the Southern States, have yet become so barbarous as to have declared that the bringing up a child on a plantation, has thereby contracted a debt, to last for life, or that because A has paid B $500 or $1,000 for C, consequently C is indebted to A an indefinite amount of service in labor; or even if they had, would such laws be acknowledged in a Christian community as binding? But we know they have made no such laws, and the slave cannot owe anything, and consequently the decision made in the case of Prigg, vs. the State of Pennsylvania, was a perversion of all right, and the commencement of that downward course which, if not arrested, will ultimately destroy the liberties of this whole people, before they are aware of it; and I have frequently thought, that if the mass of our people were conscious of the result to which that decision would tend, the resignation of all these jugdes, would be immediately called for, or their impeachment demanded if their decision is not reversed. For as it is, you and I, and every person, both old and young, have but to be claimed as property by a Southern nabob, and if he could get us on his plantation, we are left completely at his mercy, all our rights as American citizens, so far as I can perceive, have vanished. It would be idle to talk of law under such circumstances, after you have given up every principle of law, and if these principles prevail, I see not, why our land may not become as distinguished for kidnapping, as it ever has been for its supposed regard for the rights of man. Yours, respectfully,

G. W. F. MELLEN.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1845.

Communications from England.

I always feel great pleasure in sharing with the readers of the Standard, the satisfaction which it gives my own mind, to become acquainted with the feelings, views, and opinions of intelligent Englishmen, whose interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, induces them to watch the movements of the world towards universal emancipation, and to utter at the right moment the word of cheer or of warning. I might express the ideas that the letters of such awaken in my mind, in my own words, and over my own signature. But I think every reader will agree with me, that to awaken the thoughts of others is more desirable than to express one's own.

I know no writings better calculated to awaken thought and indicate its profitable direction, than those of Mr. E. S. Abdy, whom the early American Abolitionists have cause to remember with so much honor for his rare fidelity to the cause when travelling in this country some ten years since. I therefore select from letters recently received from Mr. Abdy, the following passages, extracts from British writers, &c. with his own commentaries upon them.

LONDON, UNIVERSITY CLUB.

Dear Friend:—A parcel was sent for you to Baring's two or three months back. It contained a letter from George Thompson, among other things of less value; and I am anxious to know if it reached you. I now send you more despatches, as evidence of good intentions on the part of one who laments his inability to offer more effective co-operation.

The Non-Conformist here declined, as other "liberal" organs of the dissenting interests have done, to insert Shillitoe's testimony to Quaker "loving kindness" towards their neighbors. The Non-Conformist has no sympathy for Non-conformity of skin. Its patrons do not like to be reminded of their own persecutions. He reserves his invectives for tithes and church rates, and confines the bitterness of his scorn within limits prescribed by the selfishness of his readers. His columns are open to all who will flatter the dissidents from an established creed—they are peremptorily shut against the exposure of their connivance with the iniquities of an established color. By referring to the last Report of the "World's Convention," as the friends of the Moravians and Quakers called themselves, (a work I forwarded to you,) it will be seen that exclusion on account of color was denied to be matter of Quaker discipline in the presence of many who must have known, from Shillitoe's Journal, the utter falsity of the assertion. If it were not so, why should the extract in question have been omitted in the American republication? and why should the London Committee have refused to lay before the Abolitionists this unobjectionable answer to the assurances and excuses then made by one of its own members? The presumption of premeditated collusion is too well founded to be denied by any who has not much less discernment and much more charity than common mortals. In one respect, however, the "friends" of America stand higher than their English brethren. *They* have at least paid the proverbial tribute to virtue. They have shown some respect for public opinion, in suppressing their violation of the principles they profess—while the others have shown their indifference to it, by publishing what their unflinching censor had written against their love of money, and their worship of mammon; so true is it, that the love of money is the root of all evil. Personal pride, sectarian jealousy, duplicity, and evasion, are but the natural fruits of that poisonous plant which conformity to the world, has rooted in the heart of the Quaker. It was truly distressing to see a stickler for the honor of his caste, special pleading against conviction in the dress of humility and benevolence, and in an assembly of persons professing impartial justice to all men. Whether my letter to the Patriot has been noticed by the Reporter, I know not. I shall not trouble myself any further with the subject.

The Texas question has given rise to the most preposterous imputations against this country, both in France and in Germany. Why should our Government interfere with yours? As long as the revenue raised on the wealth produced by the manufacture of your cotton, suffices to keep them in place, and as long as a maritime rival is bound over to keep the peace in securities it dare not forfeit, it is not worth while to extend the new trade of sentimental statesmen. Those who are deaf to the cries of justice, have no ear for an invidious generosity. The American negro may wait until Ireland and India are contented. Friendship with New Broad street, does not imply hostility to Washington. There is too little free labor sugar to hope for free labor cotton. The ill-success of "fiscal" philanthropy has not increased the taste for international lectures on morality. It is not on your side only of the water, that the lovers of the sublime fall into the ridiculous. Our "fiscalists" are as diverting as your "constitutionalists." What they want in argument, they make up in audacity; and, while they insult common sense, by defending protective duties, they insult common humanity by defending Slavery. I am far from blaming honest motives—such I doubt not are in full force among you in spite of some sophistry—one may laugh at the "fantastic tricks" played here, and one must sigh at the sight of an unworthy display of pride and partiality.

Deficient as the founders of your boasted Constitution were in true wisdom and humanity, they would have had too much respect for themselves and their country to employ such fallacies as its defenders have opposed to its rational and its received interpretation. The denial of natural rights was the consequence and the cause of presumed inferiority, and the fear of offending those whose alliance or recognition was a condition of their independence, combined with imaginary self-interest, would check any zeal the new States might have felt to push their spirit of freedom beyond the limits of public opinion. The admission to equal privileges was no more contemplated for the negro, by the skin-proud concoctors of your Magna Charta, than the possession of the Antilles and of the Brazils was anticipated by the brutal importers of their unfortunate fellow-countrymen. Yet it required no gift of prophecy to see these results, in the employment of African labor throughout those countries. Wherever the oppressor has a direct interest in the numerical increase of the oppressed, the threat or employment of force ultimately breaks the chain of its victims. If the good elaborated in the course of human events from our bad actions, is to be taken as their end or their intention, where are we to fix the point of criminality?

So little was the compromise between North and South connected with the necessity of resisting the mother country, that the protraction of the struggle would have suggested an opposite policy. Abolition must have been adopted to meet the double danger from a foreign and from a domestic enemy. It was thus in the case of the South American colonies. It was this policy that led to the victories and the discomfiture of Napoleon. The slave is promised freedom by one of the contending parties, and the chances of his liberation are determined by the risk of refusal and the advantages of concession. This liberal measure was proposed in the hour of need, and forgotton in the hour of triumph. The obstinacy of Spain, and the weakness of Spanish America, conferred upon the black man that boon which a reversed relation denied to his Northern brother. It is, in fact, to this instinct of self-preservation, that the progress of liberty, whether religious, political, or personal, is to be traced.

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With the highest respect, yours, &c.

E. S. ABDY.

COURSE OF ENGLAND AND THE LONDON ANTI SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

Public opinion in Europe, where our motives and objects are judged by a very different standard from our own is not much influenced, I conceive, by our periodical journals. Men of discernment everywhere see through the false pretences with which the Government tries to cover its colonial policy; and the disgraceful acquiescence which the attempt to lower wages in the West Indies, by promoting emigration at the expense of those who are to suffer by it, has been received by our country, has not tended to lessen distrust in our professions of regard for the black population. We are too generally considered a nation of hypocrites, by foreigners, who are apt to confound the English people with the English Legislature, and are not aware how often those associations which stand between them, betray the one while they are the deceived or the deceiving instruments of the other.

The cause of negro rights has suffered equally by the ignorance of diplomatic philanthropists and the intrigue of philanthropic statesmen. The wickedness which deprived Mexico of her most valuable province, and the folly which supposed a mushroom State could maintain its independence between two communities opposed to each other by difference of language, of religion, and of social institutions, combined in creating a line of policy, destructive of our legitimate influence on the very question involved in the discussion. We have alienated Mexico; we have exasperated your Southern States, and we have strengthened the alliance of slaveholding Governments. If Humanity could be promoted by sins against morality and common-sense, the New Broad street conclave might defy the remonstrances of Mexico, and glory in the praises of Jamaica planters. The public, who is to pay in pocket and reputation, must console itself with the reflection that the contracting parties may share among them the profit and the honor. The ministry obtains parliamentary support by flattering the Abolitionists; the land speculators in Texas and the West Indies, are relieved from their embarrassments; and the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society have the self-satisfaction of "ruling the world by the little wisdom" of sectarian Machiavelism—of drawing definitive distinctions between criminal revolt and laudable resistance to self-imposed authority:—and of quieting the public conscience on points which regard the apparent affinities between slave-grown sugar and slave-grown cotton, and which touch upon the levelling tendencies of capital in every branch of commercial employment. The disastrous results of this short-sighted collusion between the redressers and the perpetrators of injustice are already visible. The opposition press in France, which six or eight years back, was in favor of emancipation, is now directly hostile to it; and what little zeal was felt there on the subject has sunk into opposition or indifferenee.

The Journal des Debats has taken the other side with that sort of sincerity which has ever marked its sentimentality in matters of general interest. A petition or two from a few workmen in a populous city, do not invalidate the inferences to be drawn from the prevailing tone of a press, addressed to the interests and feelings of the great mass of the people. They may be looked upon as efforts to obviate the suspicions which the absence of French Abolitionists at last year's Convention, and the vile measures of gradual freedom, projected by the Government, have excited among those who have not courage or conscience enough to expose these delinquencies. The chances of emancipation vary with the changes in commercial liberty; and, while everything is sacrificed to the absurd notions of reciprocity and protection, it is not likely that Holland or France will be persuaded by memorials or addresses, to run the risk of losing the American market, by taking any step unfavorable to American slaveholders. The destruction of Slavery would be the destruction of monopoly. How, then, can we expect monopolists would co-operate in destroying Slavery? Am I not then right in repeating that our recognition of self-government for your neighbor, which we so long refused to Häiti, and the assistance which we give to our sugar growers, and deny to our cotton manufacturers, have retarded the progress of abolition? Such is my honest opinion. The English Cabinet, in merging the statesman in the merchant and the philanthropist, and the English Anti-Slavery Society in assuming functions above its competence and beyond its control, have disturbed the natural relations of society, diminished the chances of freedom, and supplied other nations with pleas for delay, excuses for expediency, and precedents for compromise. Our "good people," whom mammon permits to wear slave-grown cotton, and God forbids to eat slave-grown sugar, are like your Methodists, who unfrock a Bishop for *holding* slaves, while they honor priests and deacons who *hire* them. The black man may justly complain that we agree when his interest alone is concerned, and quarrel when our self-love is affected. While the advocates are abusing each other, their common client is oppressed or humiliated by their common enemy.

The schism which has cost you so much, will spare you, it is to be hoped, the errors of our unanimity. You view the question in all its bearings; and the truths, elicited by discussion, will compensate its severity. You stand on high ground. The concessions we made, you are prepared to demand. You have not to deal with people who have not studied the subject, and who have yet that advantage which a general knowledge of human affairs gives to the designing and the interested. The publicity of your proceedings is the best check to the abuses of precipitancy and presumption. You cannot be cajoled by the caresses of men superior to you in social rank and refinement, nor tempted to accept conditions which the body you represent will not know how to appreciate. The sanction of your actions is in motives and not in results, and the means to be employed cannot sully your principles.

As we have no longer slave-colonies, our anathemas against Slavery cost us nothing, and gain little credit with dispassionate observers. Our periodical literature is too party-colored to have much influence abroad, except in matters of taste and science. It must be better informed of what is passing among you, before it can supply you with materials such as you require. The German press is more exempt from prejudice, more accurate in its facts, and less partial in its deductions than the French or the English. It gave me great pleasure to find on my late visit, that much more interest was expressed by the leading journals in Germany, on the subject which now agitates your whole Union, and that the impolicy as well as iniquity of the system, is generally admitted. While the Washington correspondent of the Chronicle says little, and that of the Times almost nothing upon Slavery, the Augsburg Gazette, is supplied with valuable information from its agent in that city. If, as it appears from similarity of style, the "Spy at Washington," of the Courier and Enquirer, and the "Citizen of Geneva," of the Times, are one and the same, little confidence can be placed in any communication from a writer who has shown his predilection for the South, and who will not say anything that may close against him those channels of political intelligence, upon the extent and accuracy of which depends his continuance of an agreeable and profitable commission. If there were any demand among us, for anti-slavery news from the United States, an adequate supply would soon be had. Our ignorance and our apathy react on each other, and we want some organ to dispel both. Half that has been done to make us ridiculous in Europe, might have made us useful in America. We might have advanced the cause we have driven back—and those Governments which have used our disunion for their own purposes, would have been checked where they are now encouraged. Our "Reporter" has few, if any, among those general readers who are to be attracted by polished language or sound reasoning. To most the subject is somewhat repulsive; and as the style of this journal is far below mediocrity, the matter it contains, however important, is entirely lost for those whom it might influence, if recommended by the ordinary graces of periodical composition. Its simplicity, however, almost redeems its insignificance: what it wants in dignity, it makes up in self-complacency and adulation: and whether it dictates to a Minister of State, or praises itself and its patrons, it is equally amusing. Paid to please, it pleases those who pay it, and its unfitness for controversy, secures the gratification of its dominion, by limiting the number of its subjects. Trustworthy editors of abolition papers, are not easily to be found anywhere. Men who are thoroughly independent in position, as well as in opinion, and who possess the skill of a ready writer, without the tricks to which its exercise tempts, have seldom leisure or inclination for the office. It is no easy matter for a writer in such a country as yours, to live by his pen, and yet retain his integrity amid the allurements of party predilection and professional advancement. Mr. Leavitt will, no doubt, know how to settle the conflicting claims of conscience and self-interest. He will cut the coat of his consistency according to the cloth of his customers. One who could dilate on the wickedness of war, before a London audience, and afterwards speak, as he did in a Boston paper, of the boundary arrangement, as a robbery of American rights, need not be embarrassed by the scruples of ordinary mortals. He who declared publicly that "*post nati*" abolition was worthy of all praise in Tunis, and an absurd as well as a wicked measure in New Jersey, will not yield too much to the weakness of consistency, or submit a lively imagination to the guardianship of an unwelcome memory.

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SILENCE OF AMERICAN WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

The Dublin Review, a Catholic work of great ability, says (May, 1839) of J. Fennimore Cooper—"He certainly has not too much spared his own country; he has not hesitated to expose to the vigilant and eager criticism of the old world, the faults and follies, mistakes and vices, that are so rife in the new; yet this he has done in a manner certainly not more offensive, although, perhaps, more completely, than have the crowd of English writers upon America. So far is he from exaggeration, that he has left wholly untouched the monster sin of the Americans—their conduct towards the people of color—the red man and the black: the Indian defrauded, or openly plundered of his land and possessions, and driven an outcast to the far West; and the hapless negro, deprived of his most sacred right, the possession of himself; or if mocked with the name of freedom, degraded and enslaved still, in spirit, by the contempt and insult he is met with at every turn, and which"—(a sin, which) "is most foully connived at by the State." The Review bestows high praise upon the Irish settlers in the United States for their good conduct: and yet there is probably no class of men in that country of whom the blacks have more just reason to complain. The Review is published by J. Cumming, Dublin. The editor *ought to be* informed *of this fact by the American Abolitionists.* "However," continues the writer, "this cautious abstinence and discreet reservation on the part of Mr. Cooper, have by no means proved the propitiatory *offering he no doubt intended them to be to the honest feelings of his fellow-countrymen,*" &c. How little the Review knows of either the novelist or his fellow-countrymen! If Cooper or Irving, spoke the "whole truth," his copy-right would sell for little in America. "Knowing," says the Dublin critic, "how peculiarly sensitive and thin-skinned his countrymen have shown themselves whenever they have found themselves "in print," Mr. Cooper, were his purpose *honest*, should have chastised more mildly; or did he deem that caustic severity was indispensable, should have rather directed it against the monster outrages we have before noted, upon justice and humanity, than against foibles and faults of minor degree." How could Cooper condemn his neighbors in this matter without condemning himself? His silence in deed has already condemned him. He is equally particeps criminis whether he commits the guilt or conceals it. His honesty of purpose is but the policy of his pocket, and his publisher's bill gives the most accurate measure of his "justice and humanity." Let this "unsophisticated" publicist, who claims for his church the exclusive honor of having abolished slavery "honestly," expose to the world's censure these "monster-outrages" of his American co-religionists, let him tell them they are traitors at the same time to their more favored creed and to humanity, and have yielded to a bad example where they were bound to set a good one; and the diminished number of his readers in the United States will soon explain why Cooper's "caustic severity" was wanting where it was most needed. A passage, subsequently quoted from "Homeward Bound," may fairly be turned against its author. "It is the duty of the parent to educate and correct the child; but it is the duty of the citizen to reform and improve the character of his country. With foreigners, one should

worse than heathenish conduct observed towards the unhappy negroes, and those who dare to speak one word of justice or kindness toward them; that question, pregnant with the worst, the most fearful, almost the only real dangers to the republic—that question Mr. Cooper does not once touch upon! There can be but two reasons for his abstinence on this point—let him choose between them; and let the world judge how fitting it is for a man actuated by either, to set himself up as a judge, or correcter of others. Either he is one of those who outrage humanity by sanctioning and approving the manner in which the negroes and the Indians are treated, or he has been *afraid* to speak out: he has truckled to the majority more basely and more vilely than ever yet was done by any among the large classes, that, he informs us, he personifies in the character of Mr. Bragg and Mr. Dodge. In direct and full proportion to the tremendous importance of the question at issue between the whites and the two races they trample on, is the degree of turpitude, and disgrace deliberately and wantonly incurred by Mr. Cooper." This censure, however severe, would have been more appropriate if its object had been confined to those American authors who profess to instruct and improve their fellow-countrymen—men who have no right to attack the prejudices of others, till they have conquered their own: and who sanction by their silence much worse evils than they can correct by their example or their eloquence. If Cooper cannot shelter himself behind such authorities, he might refer the Dublin Reviewer of May, 1839, to the Dublin Reviewer of November, 1839, in which appears the following passage: "An Englishman, after he has been a few days in America, feels, probably for the first time in his life, that his individual liberty is interfered with. At a public table he expresses to his next neighbor an opinionindirectly touching upon slavery—he is not, be it observed, in a slave holding State—and shaping his views according to his old country biasses, he fancies he can speak freely, provided he speaks not offensively; but he is soon convinced of his error. If he be not told—he soon discovers that he is on forbidden ground, and that he *is a watched and marked man during his sojourn.*"

On the subject of Slavery there can be no compromise, and beyond the indispensable precautions for the welfare and regulation of those about to be made free, there ought to be no delay. Every hour that the negro is detained in bondage, accumulates a heavy debt; and the retribution will be terrible. It is this accursed system that will give birth to the real dangers of the Union, and that casts a blot upon the fame of America that centuries will not wipe out.—*Dublin Reviewer April*, 1837.

The following is interesting to Colonizationists, as well as Abolitionists.

EXTRACT FROM A REPORT BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND.

It appears to your Committee that the difficulties now experienced in New Zealand, are mainly to be attributed to the fact, that, in the measures which have been taken for establishing a British Colony in these islands, those rules as to the mode in which colonization ought to be conducted, which have been drawn from reason and experience, have not been sufficiently attended to. When it was first proposed to establish New Zealand as a British colony dependent upon New South Wales, Sir George Gipps, the Governor of the latter, in a very able address, laid down the following principles as those on which he had framed the bill which it was his duty to submit to his Legislative council for the regulation of the infant colony of New Zealand. "The bill is founded," he said, "upon two or three general principles, which, until I heard them here controverted, I thought were fully admitted, and indeed received as political axioms. The first is, that the uncivilized inhabitants of any country, have but a qualified dominion over it, or a right of occupancy only; and that, until they establish among themselves a settled form of government, and subjugate the ground of their own uses, by the cultivation of it, they cannot grant to individuals not of their own tribe, any portion of it, for the simple reason that they have not themselves any individual property in it. Secondly, that if a settlement be made in any such country by a civilized power, the right of pre-emption of the soil, or, in other words, the right of extinguishing the native title, is exclusively in the government of that power, and cannot be enjoyed by individuals, without the consent of their Government. The third principle is *that neither individuals nor bodies of men belonging to any nation, can form colonies, except with the consent, and under the direction and control of their own Government; and that from any settlement which they may form without the consent of their Government, they may be ousted.* This is simply to say, as far as Englishmen are concerned, that colonies cannot be formed without the consent of the Crown." This report has been very recently published. The third principle here laid down, arises naturally from the conditions of the question implicated. It is matter of astonishment, indeed, that any other could have ever been supposed applicable to Liberia, or that any law of nations could be acknowledged that would not, in giving validity to any scheme for individual colonization, be subversive of all that constitutes nationality, and determines the limits of allegiance. It was stated in the Morning Chronicle some months ago, that a question as to the relation between Liberia and the United States, was put by our Government to the proper authorities at Washington, and that the answer implied a disavowal of any colonial dependence of that "colony" upon America. More direct inquiries elicited an admission that this "asylum of the emancipated negroes" could claim no other protection than that which might be desired for its philanthropic objects. How far this novel "comity of nations" can give the misguided settlers any security against aggression, is probably matter of perfect indifference to the concoctors of the infamous deception. Few in such matters trouble themselves about abstract principles, till the necessity of their application stamps their truth in characters of suffering to the parties interested. Towards the conclusion of the Report we find the following: "Your Committee cannot offer these recommendations, tending to what may be thought a more severe enforcement of authority over the natives, without, at the same time, expressing their strong sense of the duty incumbent upon the Government, of adopting the most effective measures for their welfare and improvement. With this view, we conceive that every effort should be made *to amalgamate the two races*; more particularly, the utmost attention should be paid to the education and training of the rising generation of the aborigines: whenever their improvement in intelligence will admit of it, *the natives should be placed in every respect, on a perfect equality with their white fellow-subjects*, and, as soon as possible, they should be employed in the civil service of the Government, in any situations in which they can make themselves useful. We also attach much importance to the adoption of a good system of making reserves of land for their benefit. These reserves ought, in our opinion, to be of moderate size, and *interspersed with the lands destined for the occupation of settlers*; the natives should be encouraged themselves, to occupy and to cultivate the land thus reserved for their benefit, and only those parts of it for which they might have no immediate occasion, should be allowed to be let on lease to Europeans, the leases being restricted to a moderate term of years, and the rents so obtained being considered as applicable only for their advantage. By this arrangement, the natives established upon such reserves being scattered, a few together, amonust the European population, would be more likely than under any other plan which has been *suggested gradually to adopt the customs and ways of life of their civilized neighbors*; whereas, if the land reserved for them were in large blocks, and they were *collected together in considerable numbers, the probability is that they would cling far more pertinaciously to their habits* of life; and, if so, this interesting people would too surely melt away before the advancing tide of European settlement." Let us hope that the same act of justice would have been done to an *uninteresting* people. This new line of policy, however, towards barbarous tribes, is an honorable tribute to the spirit of humanity which most governments have now admitted to a share in their councils, and may serve as an answer to the charges made by a writer in the Anti-Slavery Standard against those who have adopted it. Our legislators would not probably have dreaded the "progress of civilization" in New Zealand, if they had not arrested that of barbarism in Jamaica; nor will Statesmen at Washington have "leisure to be good" to the Indian, till they cease to be cruel to the negro. Let us do honor to our respective countries, in eschewing the false notions of nationality. Let us censure each other to correct our vices, and imitate each other to improve our virtues. Recrimination cannot supply the place of repentance, and self-glorification is a sorry substitute for amendment. It is under the impression of such feelings that I would ask, what has Penn's "law of kindness" effected for the Indians? Of what use to their descendants have been the trinkets and baubles he gave for the land they made over to him in their simplicity? He has doubtless all the merit of good intentions; but he had too little knowledge of what he was doing to be regarded by us as a model. Had he admitted his red brethren to that equality which belongs to children of the same father—however degraded and wherever scattered—an equality not in refinement and religion, but in the capabilities of the same intellectual development which had placed him so far above them—had he made amalgamation a tie to be respected, rather than a usage to be tolerated, he would have established a principle of practical justice where he has left an example of empty benevolence; the "sandy foundation" of his philanthropy would not have been "shaken" to pieces by his unworthy followers; and a Philadelphia Quaker might have opened the sanctuary of his *meeting-house to a colored Christian.*

Your Dublin correspondent who makes association with nobles an element of greatness, has very different ideas from those by whom he thinks it may be imparted. If our Peerage were not recruited from the ranks of the very persons his praiseworthy modesty has placed below it, it would soon share the fate of its less fortunate brotherhood on the continent of Europe. It has been preserved from corruption by that "salt of the earth" which is thus depreciated; and it owes both its existence and its continuance to the objects of its contempt. We have too many exceptions, however, both to the blind admirers, and to the silly enforcers of patrician distinctions, to make us very impatient for the arrival of such a change in public opinion as will lessen the numbers of both, and prepare us for the time when the standard of moral elevation will be such as your excellent *friend may quote as well as exemplify.*

If bad language be the sign of a bad cause, we may judge which of the contending parties among the American Abolitionists is in the wrong. Such masters of the vulgar vernacular need not cross the water to graduate at St. Giles' or take out their freedom in Billingsgate. They calumniate as if they dreaded an injury and hate as if they had done it themselves. *They never pardon who have done the wrong.* There cannot be much justice where there is so little policy. They may forget what is due to others,—they should remember what is due to themselves. A man may show good taste in calling bad names, and be ill-tempered without being ill-bred.

There is a misprint in one of my letters in the Standard. "Bandy *complaints* with Quakers and Moravians," should be "bandy *compliments*," &c. The origin of this common expression is well known. When George III. observed to Dr. Johnson with that refined courtesy which habit has rendered so easy to kings, that *he too should* have thought he had written enough, if he had not written so well, Boswell, on hearing the anecdote, asked what reply had been made—"Sir," said the Doctor, "it was not for me to *baady compliments* with my sovereign." The Doctor was a tory, and his biographer a whig.

Perjury.

A few weeks since an excellent letter was published in the Standard from P. Shafter, of Williamsburg, to Mr. Birney, on the rightfulness of taking the oath to support a pro-slavery Constitution. The Emancipator publishes Mr. Birney's letter, to which this of Mr. Shafter was a reply. That paper, in its zeal to defend its late Presidential candidate from the charge of perjury, departs from its usual shrewd line of policy in giving currency to a letter in which the pro-slavery character of the Constitution is throughout admitted. That Mr. Birney should make such an admission is not surprising, as he seems to have a singular predilection for committing blunders; but that Mr. Leavitt should follow his example may well excite our wonder. He at least knows that a *Liberty* party under a *pro-slavery* Constitution is a ridiculous misnomer, and that the only hope for such a party lies in boldly denying what the common sense of the nation, its political history, its legislative and judicial action for a period of sixty years has settled beyond the hope of successful contradiction, except indeed with men who believe that sophistry is more powerful, in the long run, than common sense, and political cunning than common honesty. Mr. Birney is a partisan of whom no one can envy his party the possession. The mischief he does is just in proportion to his influence. It would be well for his friends if he would take a lesson from the wordy ingenuity of William Goodell, the unscrupulous boldness of Alvan Stewart, the capability at self-deception of Gerritt Smith, the mystifying loquaciousness of Col. Miller, the more puzzling sophistry of Joshua Leavitt, or the habit of silent obedience to party dictation of many others. He is not only so unfortunate as to form opinions, but is doubly unfortunate in not understanding the necessity of forming them after a certain fashion. The admiration of the Emancipator for the "Sage of Saginaw" is hardly an excuse for exposing his short-sightedness, and falling into the same error.

The Liberty party, rank and file, may as well make up their minds to it to go the whole doctrine of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution, and its postulate, the power of the General Government to abolish Slavery as unconstitutional, all over the land. True, the good sense and the honor of all the people, and the consistent integrity of the Abolitionists may relieet at such a doctrine, but without it the party will not only render themselves obnoxious to the charge, but must plead guilty to the proof of perjury. No alternative is left them, for an oath to a Constitution is so plain a thing, that no degree of sophistry, no quantity, however great, of logical dust can hide from the eyes of the people its true intent and meaning. Mr. Birney endeavors, in the letter referred to, to escape from the dilemma, but it seems to me his argument halts most sadly.

His argument, as applied to the State and to the individual, is this: That the pro-slavery provisions of the Constitution cannot be binding, because they are opposed to "natural right, to justice, and humanity." The State is not bound by them for these reasons, and also because it owes protection to all who owe it allegiance. A fugitive slave owes it allegiance on coming within its borders, and it is therefore bound to protect him in his natural right to liberty. This seems very plausible at first view, but he forgets one of the original elements of our Government, namely, that the individual State has yielded up to the Federal Government certain rights—such as the right to declare war, coin money, &c. &c.—in consideration of the rights and privileges, guarantied and granted by the act of Union. By the "fugitive clause" of the Constitution, the individual State has given up its right to protect a certain class of "persons"—slaves—in their liberties, and the slave-law over these persons becomes the paramount law of the land all over the Union. This doctrine, which leaves not a foot of free soil in all these United States, monstrous as it is, is nevertheless the doctrine of the Constitution. There is no getting over it or around it. Nor are we left to be guided by individual opinion, or the legislative enactment of the State. The Supreme Court of the United States—the last appeal on a question of constitutional law—has so decided it in the case of Prigg, *vs.* the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It amounts to just nothing at all to say that this provision of the Constitution is contrary "to natural right, to justice, and humanity;" it is "in the bond," and so long as the State holds to its allegiance to the Union, so long is it bound by all its provisions.

So with regard to the individual, the same reasoning applies with equal force. Mr. Birney says that he should have no hesitation in "affirming to support the *Constitution of Government*," while he should consider himself "bound to disregard any immoral provisions that might be found in it." In justification of such a course, he supposes a case, wherein a bank is chartered by the Legislature, one or more of the sections of which charter are set aside, for reasons shown, by the proper "tribunal," while the validity of the rest is maintained. I submit whether Mr. Birney has any right to assume to himself the functions of a proper "tribunal." He is not the Supreme Court of a State, or of the United States, and it was never contemplated in any known "Constitution of Government"—whatever may be intended by that which Liberty party proposes to establish—that Mr. Birney, or any other "quite unofficial individual," should take upon himself to decide a mooted point of Constitutional law. That power is delegated to a tribunal to whose decisions the individual must submit.

Nobody—or at least, no Abolitionist—will deny the position that we cannot be bound by any law of man to disobey the law of God. Liberty party is not entitled, with all the bluster of the Emancipator about it, to the honor of the first discovery of this principle. It is, at least, as old as Blackstone. But it is quite another question, I apprehend, whether any law of God will justify us in taking a solemn oath to obey a law of man, which we know to be wicked, and which we intend to break. And here is the real question. I am not bound to return a fugitive, for that is a wicked act. But my oath to the Constitution requires this, among many other things, at my hands. Then I am bound not to take the oath; for if I keep it, I disobey God's law,—if I do not keep it, I commit perjury, which is also disobedience to God's law. In either case, I am guilty of great sin.

But, exclaims the Emancipator, in answer to Mr. Shafter, and in defence of Mr. Birney's position, "A pretty predicament we are reduced to, if we cannot reject whatever of iniquitous contract there is in the Constitution, without rejecting it altogether as a system of Government." Here is the mischief of this pernicious doctrine of Liberty party. If carried into practice, it would produce the most complete anarchy. It strikes at the very fundamental principles of civil society, and makes every man "a law unto himself" in the worst sense. Under it there can be no such thing as Government, for the essence of Government is, that there shall be certain fixed principles and rules of conduct, by which all shall abide. If one man may reject the first article of the Constitution, a second may reject the second, a third a third, and so on. A man at the North, or a State declares that he, or it, will not deliver up a fugitive slave, for that is against his conscience. South Carolina declares that she will imprison free colored men, for it is against her conscience to permit them to go at large. One party is just as justifiable as the other. Both are nullifiers. There is no law, there can be no Constitution, under such a state of things—or rather there are just as many Constitutions as there are individual minds.

Both Mr. Birney and the Emancipator, lay great stress upon the term, "*a Constitution of Government.*" The Constitution, they declare, is not, and was not intended to be a compact, but a "Constitution of Government;" that a Government which does not ensure the natural rights of all men, is *ipso facto* void;—that a just Government must be supported, and any other is no Government at all, and, therefore, not to be supported. There is a singular disagreement between our opponents on this subject. Thomas Earle insists that no Government is perfect, and therefore we are bound to support our own, pro-slavery as it is. The Emancipator affirms that that is not a Government which is not pure, and every man must support it according to his own notion of what it should be. But this mode of reasoning is of the loosest sort. It by no means follows, that because the Preamble to the Constitution lays down certain principles, which are sufficient to cover the whole moral duty of Government, that the framers of that Constitution should form a Government in which no immoral thing should be required. To put the best construction upon it, our fathers made the body of the instrument conform to the principles of the Preamble, according to the best light they had. They guarantied certain rights, and laid down certain duties. They did not pretend to form an immutable moral code. They bound by the instrument itself, all who accepted it, even as a "*Constitution of Government*," to abide by it, moral or immoral, as long as they accepted it. The Government thus formed, is as much a compact, as any other association of men for any purpose. Their *purpose* is evident, though it may disagree with their principle. Because all Governments should be pure, in accordance with the highest idea of their object, it does not necessarily follow, therefore, that there can be no Government wicked in itself, and to which its subjects owe allegiance, if they accept its terms.

Mr. Shafter advises that each man taking the oath, shall do so with a qualification as to the pro-slavery clauses. The Emancipator exclaims against this as absurd, and very justly. He says: "Does Mr. Shafter suppose it possible for a machine, called a clerk, to administer an oath with qualifications? It cannot be." Very true. But why not? Does not the Emancipator see that in granting that a clerk has no right to administer an oath to the Constitution, with qualifications, that he kicks from under him the ladder on which he stands? Such an oath cannot be administered, simply because the law would not recognize it as legal—it would be, indeed, no oath at all. The juror must swear to the whole Constitution, or to none of it. The fact of his appearing to swear at all, is prima facia evidence of his recognition of the binding force of the whole instrument. Whoever administers the oath, can do so on no other supposition, and in granting this, the Emancipator grants also, by implication, that an oath which a clerk has no right to administer, the juror has no right to take.

The Emancipator denies what I some time since asserted, that the Liberty party are afraid to discuss this question. I know very well that they are very willing to discuss on one side, both in their meetings and in their papers. But he knows very well that the argument, briefly and imperfectly as it is presented here, would not be allowed to be offered, even thus far, at any of their meetings, east of the Alleghanies, and in very few of the papers. It is not a part of their plan, that the members of their party shall have the opportunity to see the sophistry by which they are deceived. But as that paper has entered upon the subject, will it tell its readers what way, according to its own principles, it proposes to abolish Slavery?—G.

P. S. The above article should have appeared two or three weeks ago, but has been crowded out by the press of other matter. The True Wesleyan will find in it, perhaps, the answer to its question as to the "point" of discussion in relation to Disunion.

The Spirit of Liberty.

The editor of this paper esteems me unjust in supposing that a fear of the truth led him to refuse the use of his columns to a discussion of the character of the United States Constitution. I am very ready to correct the error, if it be one, and in the same spirit of kindness and candor with which my attention is called to it. I have no disposition to do injustice to the Spirit, by imputing to it a motive of which it declares itself not guilty.

I am at a loss, nevertheless, to understand why he objects to such a discussion. He should be aware that it is not, as he asserts, a mooted question among the Covenanters, whether the Constitution be a pro-slavery instrument or not. That church, with the exception of a small seceding portion, who have maintained for the last few years a different doctrine, have ever since the adoption of the Constitution held precisely the same relation to it that the American Anti-Slavery Society now holds. A discussion would not then be on their behalf. But it is important for the Abolitionists. We all profess to be seeking for the truth, and that paper, ir seems to me, to say the least, is careless of it, which sets up its own *dictum* contrary to the universal opinion of a whole nation for sixty years, and declares itself to be in the right without permitting discussion. Give the question a fair hearing, friend, and if you lose the argument, you have gained the truth, and if you can gain the argument, your strength will be increased a thousand fold. Will not the Spirit reconsider its decision, and let its Liberty party readers judge for themselves, whether they are not committing perjury every time they go to the polls?

But thou who accusest another of injustice, art thou unjust? The Spirit misrepresents the case in the meeting referred to, and in which I said the agents of our Society were gagged in Pittsburgh. The fact was simply this: A resolution was introduced, making the Western Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society auxiliary to the American. The question was asked, whether by becoming an auxiliary, the former would become parties to the discussion then going on between Mr. Child and Mr. Leavitt, relative to the transfer of the Emancipator. I replied that every individual would think as he pleased in regard to that matter, and would endorse or not, as he thought best, the opinions of Mr. Child. An amendment was immediately offered to the effect that the Pennsylvania Society, in becoming auxiliary to the American, would not join it in any condemnation of the Committee of 1840. I contended—for the defence fell mainly upon myself till the appearance of Mr. Bradburn, an hour or two later—that by adopting the amendment, the Society would forfeit its neutrality, and commit precisely the act it would refrain from doing, inasmuch as it was virtually condemning the American Society beforehand, by refusing to consider a question in which it was involved. We contended that the Pennsylvania Society should be neutral in becoming auxiliary, while our opponents were for pledging themselves as silent partisans. The resolution was laid on the table in the evening, that Douglass and Remond might address the meeting, with a distinct avowal on my part, if my memory serves me aright, that we acquiesced in it. It was the next day that we were "*gagged*," when debate was cut off by the withdrawal of the resolution, and all subjects interdicted except what the proprietors of the house—the Society acquiescing—chose to call Anti-Slavery. It is not a matter of much moment, excepting that it shows that even Western Liberty party may do wrong under the pressure of temptation, and that implicit confidence is not to be given to it till it has been more thoroughly tried.

The question relating to the opinions of Thomas Morris, as to the rights of colored people, is not now worth discussion. Mr. Morris has been called to another bar than that of public opinion. The maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, holds as good in this case as any other. I only hope that for their own sakes, the next candidate for the Vice Presidency of the Western Liberty party, will be less liable to suspicion on the question of *colorphobia.*—G.

New Hampshire Democracy.

The Democrats of New Hampshire, at their State Convention on the 12th instant, unanimously adopted a series of resolutions reported, by Mr. Henry Hubbard of Bath, declaring,

1. *Resolved*, That a strong, unwavering attachment to the forms, *principles*, and advantages of republican government, *and a desire to extend them to as many individuals, over as broad a surface as possible*, are now, as they ever have been, the great characteristics of American democracy.

[Resolutions 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, only amplify the foregoing.]

6. *Resolved*, That the Annexation of Texas, by widely extending the domain of this republic—by strengthening our means of defence in war, and greatly increasing our resources in peace—without adding to the numbers of the enslaved—*without increasing the relative political powers of the slaveholding interest of our country*—will guaranty the blessings of a republican government to millions of patriotic and kindred beings, who might otherwise be reduced to become the oppressed and unprivileged subjects of European despotism.

These people should have a little respect for the common sense of their party, or are they quite sure that common sense as well as common honesty will be winked out of sight in obedience to party dictation? It would seem so, or they would not venture to publish such resolutions as these in the same series. The first resolution is a lie black enough, one would think, in all conscience, in view of the Annexation of Texas by Democratic votes, without making it so palpable by a lie of a deeper die yet in those which follow. They would be supposed to be intended as the cutting irony of some villainous Abolitionist were they not really the production of a Democratic Convention.

A Good Hit.

The following good thing I cut from a letter in the Christian Advocate and Journal, the organ of the Episcopal Methodists in this city. The editor says that the writer is a native and resident of a slaveholding State:

I was quite in despair to find what I might write about, when I came to the Mission to the Feejee Islands, and "here was matter for a May morning;" here was a subject on which you might cut and come again. Not that the Rev. J. T. Jaggar or R. B. Lyth had as yet done anything very reprehensible, but I doubt me, they are in a fair way to do it. The matter is this, there are certain custom and *institutions* among the enlightened Feejeeans to which these gentlemen take great exception; and it is much to be feared that they will take the same "ill-judged course which Bishop Coke took on a subject not to be named, and which is still felt most disadvantageously to the interest of *a certain* kind of Methodism;" in which case I am free to predict that the Feejeeans will be far more likely to swallow them than their doctrines: for these customs and institutions "are so interwoven with the texture of Feejeean society that it is impossible for any one to disentangle it; nor can any religious society avoid if it would, connection with these institutions. It is also true that public opinion rallies round these institutions with great jealousy; and he who goes to Somosomo, or any of the neighboring Feejee Islands, and arrays himself against the *baking of infants for supper, and the strangling of mothers, wives, and sisters, on the death of a great man*, disqualifies himself from exercising any influence whatever."*

I am aware that these missionaries may plead, (as doubtless Bishop Coke would have done,) that unless they arrayed themselves at once against these things, they would never be done away; and that in process of time, it might come to pass that even the missionaries themselves would find it expedient to render both their stomachs and consciences so accomodating that they might consider a barbecued bantling not such a bad thing after all; and as to strangling mothers and wives, if, for instance, they were of the Mrs. Caudle breed, they might bring themselves to believe it was a right down convenient mode of silencing them let other Christians think of it as they would.

Actuated by such considerations, I strongly suspect these *ill-fledged* missionaries will go on to array themselves against these cherished institutions of the Feejeeans, even at the hazard of having their *goodness* proved, as was that of a former Bishop of Quebec. "He was a *good* man," said a Canadian chief; "a very *good* man; and I should know, for *I eat a large piece of him.*"

SCRIBLERUS.

* See proceedings of the Louisville Convention for Monday, 5th May.

God a Slaveholder.

We commence in this week's paper, the publication of the remarkable letter of Gov. Hammond to Thos. Clarkson. It is refreshing to meet with one who serves the Devil with such hearty good will, and so sincere a purpose. It is infinitely preferable to the miserable hypocrisy of Northern politicians and churches, who, in the name of democracy and Christianity, trample the first principles of both under their feet. Gov. Hammond's letter needs no extended remark. The wickedness and weakness of his positions can be easily shown and defeated by the merest tyro in Anti-Slavery. The most complete refutation of his Bible argument is found in the remarkable history of a colored man on the fourth page. If God is from the beginning the great Slaveholder which Gov. Hammond would make him, He never would have created among the accursed race such men as this Benjamin Banneker; and there are thousands who would develop equal powers of mind if they were not crushed by Slavery.

Anti-Slavery Bugle

Is the title of a newspaper, the first number of which has just reached me. It is published at New Lisbon, Ohio, by the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society, and has for its motto the stirring appeal of "No Union with Slaveholders." The specimen number is well edited, and is full of promise of its faithfulness to the motto which it has adopted. Such a paper is much needed in Ohio, and I trust will meet with a hearty support. This, I presume, is the first fruit of the labors of our agents in Ohio.

This Week's Paper.

First Page.—*The Peculiar Institution:* Slave Advertisements. *Pro-Slavery:* Gov. Hammond's letter to Thomas Clarkson. Something that should be looked into. *Selections:* Letter from Horace Greely to the Anti-Slavery Convention at Cincinnati. The North opposed to Slavery.

Second Page.—*Selections:* Revolution in California. Texas. *Communications:* Letter from G. W. F. Mellen.

Fourth Page.—*Poetry:* The Old Beggar. The Burial Ground at Sidon. *Miscellany:* Memoir of Benjamin Banneker, read before the Historical Society of Maryland.

Liberation of Gov. Dorr.—The Assembly of Rhode Island passed an act of general amnesty, on Friday the 27th ultimo, by which Gov. Dorr was liberated. It is with great satisfaction that I record this act of tardy justice to a persecuted man.

Errata.—In the acknowledgments last week, Samuel May, of Leicester, should have been credited $10, instead of $5; Francis Jackson, in all $250, instead of $200.

Henry C. Wright, we learn, intends to remain in Great Britain a year longer. He is doing the cause good service in Scotland in the Free Church controversy respecting the money received by its representatives from slaveholders while in this country. The cry waxes warmer and warmer on every side—"send back that money!"

An apology is due to my venerated friend Henry Grew, for the omission of the lines he sent for this week's paper. They were not received in season, but will be inserted next week.

The notice for the meeting of the Windham County Society was not received till too late for the last paper.

☞ Will the Christian Register explain why it refuses an exchange with the Standard? Do the Unitarians mean to extend the principle of not exchanging pulpits with heretics, to papers also? I mean, of course, that portion of them who are represented by the Christian Register.

"*A Serious Disappointment*" was experienced by a multitude of people who assembled in Iowa Territory on the the 31st ult., to see a man, (one Macauley,) hung! The entertainment was deferred by a writ of error to the Supreme Court on account of some flaw in the proceedings. It is said the disappointed crowd, thus brought together by the official announcement of the intended execution, and determined upon not lossing the fun altogether, hung the Judge in effigy for granting the writ of error.

Died.

In Brookline, of consumption on the 17th instant, Mary B Newhall, daughter of Daniel Newhall, of Lynn aged 27 years.

On the 28th of 6th month, near Philadelphia, Martha Jones, in the 76th year of her age.

NOTICES.

LECTURES BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Frederick Douglass will lecture in

Athol,	Mass.	July	4, 5th
Hubardstown,	"	"	6
Princeton,	"	"	7
Barre,	"	"	8
West Brookfield,	"	"	10
South Wilbraham,	"	"	11
Albany,	New-York,	"	12
Troy,	"	"	13
Windfield,	"	"	14
Utica,	"	"	15
Rome,	"	"	16
Syracuse,	"	"	17
Skaneateles,	"	"	18
Waterloo,	"	"	19, 20
Palmyra,	"	"	21, 22
Rochester,	"	"	23, 24

He intends going as far West as Buffalo—and returning, will hold series of meetings in such towns as he may find it convenient.

THE CHAMPION OF FREEDOM.

A monthly sheet, devoted to the *Free Produce* enterprise, and Industrial Association, is again to be resumed, at the following reduced terms. Three copies, (of twelve each,) $1, seven for $2, twelve for $3, and twenty-three for $5. To those wishing to purchase by the quantity, for gratuitous distribution, it is offered at $2 per hundred, or 25 cts. per dozen.

It should be borne in mind, that *this periodical is the first, and* (as yet) *the only one in the world whose main feature* is the *application of the abstinence principle to the product of slave labor.*

LORENZO MABBETT.

Sodus Domain, New Alton, Wayne co, N. Y. Alton P. O. ☞ Anti-Slavery papers please copy.

MASS MEETING FOR WINDHAM COUNTY.

On the fourth of July, the friends of the slave will hold a mass meeting, on the Miller camp-ground, Allen's Hill, two miles southeast of Brooklyn village, and about two and a half miles southwest of Danielsonville.

Let every Abolitionist in the county be there; let every opposer be there, also, to defend, if he can, that foul system of abominations and sum of all villainies, *American Slavery.*

Interesting speakers will be present, and, above all, the meeting will be free alike, for friends and foes.

"Come one come all," to Freedom's gathering, and make the old forest ring with free sentiment and free song.

LUCIAN BURLEIGH, Sec.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS!

To the Mechanics, Working-men, and Reformers of the United States.

Believing that the cause of Universal Reform requires an organ to sustain its principles, and this paper being the oldest in New England devoted to the working classes, it is thought desirable to continue its publication; but in order to continue it we shall have to ask for aid from those self-sacrificing and devoted spirits who are engaged in fighting the great moral battle of the day.

This paper will, after the expiration of this volume, be more general, and less local in its character. We also believe, farther, that ignorance is the cause of our evils, and that knowledge is the remedy. The producing classes must read before they can think and act understandingly. The paper will be enlarged if sufficient encouragement is given. One of our friends, a mechanic, who has been practically engaged in reform for the past fifteen years in this country, and who is about to visit Europe, has consented to write for the paper.

But to the point. A working-man in this town has agreed to give *One hundred dollars* on condition that one hundred more can be raised in the country. It is desirable that all those who intend aiding us in this philanthropic work would make returns by the first of July, as the new volume commences about that time; likewise, the new Post-office law then takes effect.

N. B. Those persons assisting us will be entitled to the paper, and by writing through the Postmaster the postage will be saved. Address

N. W. BROWN, Lynn, Mass.

June 26.—2t.

THE COVENANTER.

It is proposed to publish a monthly Periodical, thirty-two pages octavo, with the above title, in the city of Philadelphia, the first number to be issued on the first of August, 1845.

The general object of this Magazine shall be to disseminate the doctrines of the testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Its pages shall be devoted chiefly to the following points:

1. The mediatorial authority of Christ over the nations of the earth, and the immoral character of the Constitution of the United States.

2. The evils and dangers of Popery, in its religious and political aspects.

3. The divine right of Presbyterian Church government, in all its parts.

4. The sin and danger of Slavery, and the duty and safety of immediate emancipation.

5. The duty of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and the immorality of the traffic in this article.

6. The immoral tendency of the study of pagan literature in the colleges and universities, and the necessity of a reformation in the course of literary studies.

7. The imperative duty of Christians to support Domestic and Foreign Missions.

The following individuals, among others, have agreed to contribute to its pages, and their names will be a sufficient guarantee to the members of the Church and others, that the publication will be worthy of their support.

Rev. Messrs. Robert Wallace, James Milligan, James R. Willson, D. D. William Sloan, Samuel M. Willson, Wm. L. Roberts, J. B. Johnston, James M. Willson, Andrew Stevenson, James Wallace, Hugh Stevenson, J. J. McClurkan, James Beattie.

TERMS.

The Covenanter will be published monthly at one dollar per annum, if paid in advance, or before the publication of the fourth number; *one dollar and twenty-five cents*, if paid after the publication of the fourth number, before the termination of the year; and one dollar and fifty cents, if not paid till the expiration of the year. These terms are exceedingly low, and will be invariably adhered to.

Single numbers, twelve and a half cents.

D. SMITH.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Are you ready, dear friends, to commence with us preparations for the Pennsylvania Fair of 1845? Warm hearts and active hands we would enlist, at this early period, that no time may be lost which might be profitably spent in this service. Information respecting what is to be done, it can scarcely be necessary to offer to those who, year by year, have been laboring side by side with us in this department of Anti-Slavery toil, and whose skill and ingenuity have been again and again proved. We want whatever liberal souls will devise, and ready hands execute. The Committee commence their efforts this year with the hope of making the Fair superior to those of preceding years, but this hope cannot, of course, be realized, without your dilligent and hearty co-operation. On this we rely. Need we urge upon you motives to action? The slave has found no respite from his sufferings shall we seek respite from our labors in his behalf? Trust ing that you are as ready for this work as ourselves, we suggest that you should immediately begin to inquire what you can give or do for this purpose, and how you can best enlist the services of your friends and neighbors. Will some active friends of the cause take measures for forming sewing circles in their neighborhoods, where articles may be manufactured, donations deposited, and interest excited for the Fair? From such a measure, much benefit, beside pecuniary emolument, results to the Anti-Slavery cause. Will not the friends of the cause in Chester, Bucks, and other counties, adopt this plan, and furnish tables, to be superintended by themselves at the Fair? And will not those who cannot conveniently unite with these circles, be diligent and faithful in individual effort? Of all the friends of the slave in city and country, we ask aid. Of the merchant, we ask contributions of merchandise, of the mechanic, the fruit of his handiwork; of the farmer, the produce of his garden, fields, and poultry-yard. But we ask of all *only* the products of *free* and *requited* labor.

Let us, dear friends, commence our efforts with a determination that our next Fair shall yield great and good results to our cause, and *it will do so.*

Contributions may be sent to any member of the Committee, or to J. M. McKim, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Emma Parker,	*Anna M. Hopper,*
Mary Grew,	*Maria M. Davis,*
Sarah M. McKim,	*Sarah Pugh,*
Hester Reckless,	*Martha Carman,*
Lydia Gillingham,	*Sarah Douglass,*
Gertrude K. Burleigh,	*Sarah Lewis,*
Elizabeth J. Neall,	*Margaret Jones,*
Olive Bacon,	*Emily A. Winslow,*
Susan Grew,	*Margaret Griscom,*
Hannah L. Stickney,	*Teresa K. Hallowell,*
	Mary T. Stickney.

BARGAIN EXTRAORDINARY!

THE "*Amity Mill*" property, near Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, is now, owing to *an absolute necessity*, on the part of the owners, *to make sale*, offered *at more than fifty per cent. below its cash value.* The property consists of an *excellent farm* of one hundred and sixty acres, with good buildings. One hundred and twenty acres of the land, cleared and in a good state of cultivation. The mill is one of considerable note, and its flour is in good repute at the East. This building is nearly new, and is not surpassed in execution and convenience by any flouring mill in the State. It is five stories high, has three run of Burrs, two of these have ground and manufactured in twenty-four hours, *one hundred barrels of flour.* The water-wheel is secured from all obstacles by ice. Space will not admit of a full description of the building. Its conveniences of conveying wheat from one story to another, its various apartments, the completeness of its machinery, &c. &c. must be seen to be understood, or their value appreciated. The supply of water is ample, except at times of the greatest drought. The building alone, cost at least, *ten thousand* dollars. Adjacent to the mill are, an *oil mill*, thirty feet by thirty-four feet, four stories; a good dwelling, twenty-two feet by thirty-two feet, two stories, with cellar. Also, a store-house, eighteen feet by twenty-four feet, two stories, with cellar. Also, a warehouse, fifteen feet by fifty feet. Also, a cooper-shop, sixteen feet by one hundred and six feet.

The property lies in one of the best wheat growing regions in Ohio, and but three miles from Salem, a very thriving town, of twenty stores, and a population of one thousand two hundred, but without water-power.

This property cost $20,000, and is now offered at the low sum of $8,500—$3,000 only required in hand.

For further particulars, inquire of

B. B. DAVIS, Agent.

Salem, 6th mo. 5th, 1845.—2m.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**IRON.**	
Pot, first sort 1844.	3.75 a 3.81½	Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	40.00 a 42.50
Pearl	4.25 a .	do. American	37.50 a 40.00
CANDLES.		Bar do. rolled	95.00 a
Mould, tallow lb.	9

Poetry.

From the Democratic Review for April.

THE OLD BEGGAR.

BY R. S. S. ANDROS.

He sitteth in the open street,
Day after day he sitteth there,
Unmindful of the Summer's heat,
Or Autumn's chilling air;
His faithful dog between his feet,
And his crutch beside his chair.

He sitteth there from morn till night,
That man of many years;
His few thin locks are scarce less white
Than a silver thread appears,
And his meek old face is channeled deep,
As it were worn with tears.

He holdeth out his shrivelled hand
To every passer by,
And the idle boys that all day stand
To laugh at his bleared old eye;
And if a penny is dropped therein,
He smiles and looks on high.

He smiles and looks on high, for well
He knows how good a sight,
To Him, who once on earth did dwell,
Has the poor widow's mite;
And he feeleth grateful for everything,
And to all who give aright.

He smiles, but seldom speaketh he,
Save when some winsome child
Climbs carelessly up his tottering knee,
And utters its prattle wild;
Or a gray-beard friend tells o'er the tales—
The tales that their youth beguiled.

And then the blood mounts to his cheek,
And his eye looks bright again,
While he talks of many a freak,
Of the days ere they were men;
Of the glad hours of other years,
And the trysting tree in the glen.

But his cheek grows pale, and his old eye dim,
When the name of one is spoke,
And his very sight doth seem to swim,
And the thought his breath to choke;
For the fearful hour comes back again,
The hour that his brave heart broke.

Then suddenly he looks on high,
Up where the blue sky sleeps,
And the light comes back to his dim old eye,
Though yet he sobs and weeps;
For there he meeteth a gentle glance,
That still its vigil keeps.

But when the heaven is overcast,
Clouds gather round his heart,
And the low wail of the northern blast
Maketh his nerves to start;
For he feareth that she is sorrowful,
Till the clouds above depart.

And when the daylight fadeth out,
He taketh his crutch and cane;
And casteth his eye all about,
For he may not come again;
With his old gray dog close by his side,
He limpeth down the lane.

And there in a hovel, old and torn
By the showers of many a year,
He lifts his heart, and a prayer is borne
To him who loveth to hear;
And then he closeth his eyes in sleep,
And fears no danger near.

And thus he liveth day by day,
That beggar, old and lame,
And thus he walketh by the way,
Till death shall speak his name,
And call him up to dwell with Him
Who loveth all the same.

Who loveth all the same, and gives
As bright a crown of gold
To him who begs, as him who lives
'Mid mines of wealth untold;
And careth not for Power or Fame,
More than a Beggar Old.

THE BURIAL GROUND AT SIDON.

The dead are everywhere!
The mountain-side, the plain, the woods profound,
All the wide earth,—the fertile and the fair,—
Is one vast burial ground!

Within the populous street
In solitary homes; in places high;
In pleasure domes, where pomp and luxury meet,
Men bow themselves to die.

The old man at his door;
The unwean'd child, murmuring its wordless song;
The bondman and the free; the rich—the poor;
All, all to death belong;

The sunlight gilds the walls
Of kingly sepulchres enwrought with brass;
And the long shadow of the cypress falls
Athwart the common grass.

The living of gone time
Builded their glorious cities by the sea,
And awful in their greatness sat sublime,
As if no change could be.

There was the eloquent tongue;
The poet's heart: the sage's soul was there;
And loving women with their children young,
The faithful and the fair.

They were, but they are not;
Suns rose and set, and earth put on her bloom,
Whilst man, submitting to the common lot,
Went down into the tomb.

And still, amid the wrecks
Of mighty generations pass'd away,
Earth's bonniest growth, the fragrant wild-flower, decks
The tombs of yesterday.

And in the twilight deep
Go veiled women forth, like her who went,
Sister of Lazarus, to the grave to weep,
To breathe the low lament.

The dead are everywhere!
Where'er is love, or tenderness, or faith;
Where'er is power, pomp, pleasure, pride; where'er
Life is, or was, is death.

Miscellany.

From the Baltimore Visiter.

INTERESTING MEMOIR OF BENJAMIN BANNEKER, A COLORED MARYLANDER.

Read before the Maryland Historical Society at its meeting for May, 1845.

BY JOHN B. H. LATROBE, ESQ.

A few words may be necessary to explain why a memoir of a free man of color, formerly a resident of Maryland, is deemed of sufficient interest to be presented to the Historical Society.

There are no questions relating to our country of more interest than those connected with her colored population; an interest which has been increasing, year after year, until it has acquired its present absorbing character. Time and space prohibit an inquiry into the causes of this. It is sufficient to state the fact. The presence of this population in the States where Slavery exists, modifies their institutions in important particulars, and affects, in a greater or less degree, the character of the dominant race. For this reason alone, the memoir of a colored man, who has distinguished himself in an abstruse science, by birth a Marylander, claims consideration from those who have associated to collect and preserve facts and records relating to the men and deeds of the past. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has, no doubt, carefully gathered all that could be obtained to illustrate the life and scientific character of Rittenhouse. In presenting to the Historical Society of Maryland a memoir of Banneker, the little that is known of one who followed, under every disadvantage, in the footsteps of the philosopher of our sister State, is collected and preserved.

There is another reason why this memoir is appropriate. Maryland is the only State in the Union that has clearly indicated her policy in regard to her colored population. She looks to their gradual and voluntary removal as the only means of solving the difficult problem which their presence involves. To aid in this removal, she appropriated, in 1831, the large sum of $200,000; not in the expectation that this sum would transport them all from this country to Africa; but that by means of it, a community of freemen, capable of self-support and self-government might be established there, that would be so attractive ultimately to the colored people here, as to produce an emigration at the proper cost of the emigrants themselves, based on the same motives, and as great in amount as the emigration from Europe to America. This policy and its results must enter largely into the history of Maryland. Its success must mainly depend upon the ability and skill of the emigrants to found such a nation as will accomplish the end in view; and this in its turn depends on the oft-mooted question as to the comparative intellect of the two races, the white and colored. To decide this, facts are important; and not one more conclusive exists than the abilities and character of Benjamin Banneker.

Whether, therefore, as a matter of mere curiosity only, or as a fact from which important inferences for present action are to be drawn, a memoir of the individual in question should possess interest for our association.

Benjamin Banneker was born in Baltimore county, near the village of Ellicott's Mills, in the year 1732. His father was a native African, and his mother the child of natives of Africa; so that to no admixture of the blood of the white man was he indebted for his peculiar and extraordinary abilities. His father was a slave when he married; but his wife, who was a free woman, and possessed of great energy and industry, very soon afterwards purchased his freedom. Banneker's mother was named Morton before her marriage, and belonged to a family remarkable for its intelligence. When upward of seventy, she was still very active; and it is remembered of her, that at this advanced age she made nothing of catching her chickens when wanted, by running them down. A nephew of her's, Greenbury Morton, was a person of some note, notwithstanding his complexion. Prior to 1809, free people of color possessed of a certain property qualification, voted in Maryland. In this year a law was passed restricting the right of voting to free white males. Morton was ignorant of the law till he offered to vote at the polls in Baltimore county; and it is said when his vote was refused, he addressed the crowd in a strain of true and passionate eloquence, which kept the audience, that the election had assembled, in breathless attention while he spoke.

The joint labor of the elder Banneker and his wife enabled them to purchase a small farm, which continued after their death in the possession of their son. The farm was a tract of one hundred acres, the half of a larger tract called "Stout," and was conveyed by Richard Gist to Robert Bannaky, as the name was then spelt, and Benjamin Bannaky, his son, (who was then but five years old,) on the 10th March, 1737, for the consideration of 7,000 lbs. of tobacco. At the date of Banneker's birth, his parents, although within ten miles of Baltimore, lived almost in a wilderness. In 1727, five years before, the site of Baltimore was the farm of John Flemming, on which in that year, the Legislature authorized a town to be laid out. The view of this town, in 1754, with which we are familiar, does not exhibit more than twenty houses, straggling over the eminences on the right bank of Jones' Falls. In 1740, Baltimore had been surrounded with a board fence to protect it against the Indians. All this is proper to be remembered, in order that the difficulties against which Banneker had to struggle may be fairly understood. In 1732, Elkridge landing was of more consequence than Baltimore.

When Benjamin was old enough he was employed to assist his parents in their labor. This was at an early age, when his destiny seemed nothing better than that of a child of poor and ignorant free negroes, occupying a few acres of land in a remote and thinly peopled neighborhood,—a destiny which certainly, at this day, is not of very brilliant promise, and which, at the time in question, must have been gloomy enough. In the intervals of toil, and when he was approaching, or had attained, manhood, he was sent to an obscure and distant country school, which he attended until he had acquired a knowledge of reading and writing, and had advanced in arithmetic as far as "Double Position." In all matters beyond these rudiments of learning he was his own instructor. On leaving school he was obliged to labor for years, almost uninterruptedly, for his support. But his memory being retentive, he lost nothing of the little education he had acquired. On the contrary, although utterly destitute of books, he amplified and improved his stock of arithmetical knowledge by the operation of his mind alone. He was an acute observer of everything that he saw, or which took place around him in the natural world, and he sought with avidity information from all sources of what was going forward in society; so that he became gradually possessed of a fund of general knowledge, which it was difficult to find among those even who were far more favored by opportunity and circumstances than he was. At first his information was a subject of remark and wonder among his illiterate neighbors only; but by degrees the reputation of it spread through a wider circle; and Benjamin Banneker, still a young man, came to be thought of as one, who could not only perform all the operations of mental arithmetic with extraordinary facility, but exercise a sound and discriminating judgment upon men and things. It was at this time, when he was about thirty years of age, that he contrived and made a clock, which proved an excellent time-piece. He had seen a watch, but not a clock, such an article not yet having found its way into the quiet and secluded valley in which he lived. The watch was therefore his model. It took him a good while to accomplish this feat; his great difficulty, as he often used to say, being to make the hour, minute, and second hands correspond in their motions. But the clock was finished at last, and raised still higher the credit of Banneker in his neighborhood as an ingenious man, as well as a good arithmetician.

The making of the clock was an important matter, for it was probably owing to the fame of it, that the Ellicott family, who had just commenced a settlement where Ellicott's Mills now stands, were induced to seek him out. Well educated, and having great aptness for the useful mechanics, they were the men of all others, able to understand and appreciate the character and abilities of Banneker, and they continued during his life his firm and zealous friends.

As already stated, the basis of Banneker's arithmetical knowledge was obtained from the school book into which he had advanced as far as Double Position: but in 1787, Mr. Geo. Ellicott lent him Mayer's Tables, Fergusson's Astronomy, and Leadbeater's Lunar Tables. Along with these books were some astronomical instruments. Mr. Ellicott was accidentally prevented from giving Banneker any information as to the use of either books or instruments at the time he lent them; but before he again met him, and the interval was a brief one, Banneker, was independent of any instruction, and was already absorbed in the contemplation of the new world which was thus opened to his view. From this time, the study of astronomy became the great object of his life, and for a season he almost disappeared from the sight of his neighbors. He was unmarried, and was the sole occupant of a cabin on the lot of ground already mentioned. His parents had died at a date which is not remembered: before the period, however, to which we now particularly refer. He was still obliged to labor for his bread; but by contracting his wants he made little serve him, and he thus obtained leisure to devote to his books. His favorite time for study was night, when he could look out upon the planets whose story he was reading, and whose laws he was gradually but surely mastering. During the hours of darkness Banneker was at his labors, and shutting himself up in his house, when not obliged to toil out of doors with his hands, he slept during the day. In this way he lost the reputation for industry which he had acquired in early life; and those who saw but little of him in his field, and who found him sleeping when they visited his house, set him down as a lazy fellow, who would come to no good, and whose old age would disappoint the promise of his youth. There was a season, when this estimate of him by the ignorant among his neighbors, led to attempts to impose on him, and at times gave him serious inconvenience. But as people came to understand him, his character was restored to him most honorably. A memorandum in his handwriting, dated December 18th, 1790, states "—— —— informed me that —— stole my horse and great coat, and that the said ——intended to murder me when opportunity presented. —— —— gave me a caution to let none come into my house after dark." The names of the parties were originally written in full: but they were afterwards carefully cancelled, as though Banneker had reflected, that it was wrong to leave an unauthenticated assertion on record against an individual, which might prejudice him, if incorrect, by the mere fact that it had been made.

Very soon after the possession of the books already mentioned, had drawn Banneker's attention to astronomy, he determined to compile an almanac, that being the most familiar use that occurred to him of the information he had acquired. Of the labor of the work, few of those can form an estimate who would at this day commence such a task, with all the assistance afforded by accurate tables and well digested rules. Banneker had no such aid: and it is narrated as a well-known fact, that he commenced and had advanced far in the preparation of the logarithms necessary for his purpose, when he was furnished with a set of tables by Mr. George Ellicott. About this time, he began the record of his calculations, which is still in existence, and is left with the Society for examination. A memorandum contained in it thus corrects an error in Fergusson's Astronomy. "It appears to me that the wisest of men may at times be in error: for instance, Dr. Fergusson informs us that when the sun is within twelve degrees of either node at the time of the full, that the moon will be eclipsed: but I find, according to this method of projecting a lunar eclipse, there will be none by the above elements, and yet the sun is within eleven degress forty-six minutes, eleven seconds of the moon's ascending node. But the moon being in her apogee prevents the appearance of this eclipse." Another memorandum makes the following corections. "Errors that ought to be corrected in my Astronomical Tables are these; 2 vol. Leadbeater, p. 204, when anomaly is 4 30, the equation 3 38 41 ought to have been 3 28 41 In equation, page 155, the logarithm of his distance from ought to have been 6 in the second place from the index, instead of 7, that is from the time that his anomaly is 3 24 until it is 4 0." Both Fergusson and Leadbeater would probably have looked incredulous had they been informed, that their labored works had been reviewed and corrected by a free negro in the then almost unheard of valley of the Patapsco. The first almanac which Banneker prepared, fit for publication, was for the year 1792. By this time his acquirements had become generally known, and among others who took an interest in him, was James McHenry, Esq. Mr. McHenry wrote a letter to Goddard and Angell, then the almanac publishers in Baltimore, which was probably the means of procuring the publication of the first almanac. It contained a short account of Banneker, and is inserted as the most appropriate preface that could have been furnished for the work. Mr. McHenry's letter does equal honor to his heart and understanding. A copy of the almanac is presented herewith to the Society, in the name of Mrs. Ellicott, the widow of George Ellicott, Banneker's steadfast friend.

In their editorial notice, Messrs. Goddard and Angell say, "they feel gratified in the opportunity of presenting to the public, through their press, what must be considered as an extraordinary effort of genius—a complete and accurate Ephemeris for the year 1792, calculated by a sable descendant of Africa," &c. And they further say, that "they flatter themselves that a philanthropic public, in this enlightened era, will be induced to give their patronage and support to this work, not only on account of its intrinsic merits, (it having met the approbation of several of the most distinguished astronomers of America, particularly the celebrated Mr. Rittenhouse,) but from similar motives to those which induced the editors to give this calculation the preference, the ardent desire of drawing modest merit from obscurity, and controverting the long established illiberal prejudice against the blacks."

The motive alluded to by Goddard and Angell in the extract just quoted, of doing justice to the intellect of the colored race, was a prominent object with Banneker himself; and the only occasion when he overstepped a modesty which was his peculiar characteristic, were when he could, by so doing, "controvert the long established illiberal prejudice against the blacks." We find him, therefore, sending a copy of his first almanac to Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State under General Washington, saying in the letter that accompanied it, "although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing."

To the letter from which the above is an extract, and which will be found at length in the appendix to this memoir, Mr. Jefferson made the following reply:

PHILADELPHIA, August 30, 1791.

SIR:—I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing only to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add with truth, that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind, to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society; because I considered it a document to which your whole color had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient servant, THO. JEFFERSON.

Mr. BENJAMIN BANNEKER,
Near Ellicott's Lower Mills, Bal't. Co.

When he published his first almanac, Banneker was fifty-nine years old, and had high respect paid to him by all the scientific men of the country, as one whose color did not prevent his belonging to the same class, so far as intellect went, with themselves. After the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, commissioners were appointed to run the lines of the District of Columbia, the ten miles square now occupied by the seat of Government, and then called the "Federal territory." The commissioners invited Banneker to be present at the runnings, and treated him with much consideration. On his return, he used to say of them, that "they were a very civil set of gentlemen, who had overlooked his complexion on account of his attainments, and had so far honored him as to invite him to be seated at their table; an honor," he added, "which he had thought fit to decline, and requested that a side table might be provided for him."

Banneker continued to calculate and publish his almanacs until 1802, and the folio already referred to, and now before the society, contains the calculations clearly copied, and the figures used by him in his work. The hand-writing, it will be seen, is very good and remarkably distinct, having a practised look, although evidently that of an old man, who makes his letters and figures slowly and carefully. His letter to Mr. Jefferson, in the appendix, gives a very good idea of his style of composition and his ability as a writer. The title of the almanac is here transcribed at length, as a matter of curious interest at this latter day. If it claims little of the art and elegance and wit of the almanacs of Punch or Hood, it is, nevertheless, considering its history, a far more surprising production.

"Benjamin Banneker's Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, and Maryland Almanac and Ephemeris, for the year of our Lord 1792, being Bissextile or leap year, and the sixteenth year of American Independence, which commenced July 4, 1776. Containing the motions of the sun and moon, the true places and aspects of the planets, the rising and setting of the sun, and the rising, setting, and southing, place, and age of the moon, &c. The Lunations, Conjunctions, Eclipses, judgment of the weather, festivals, and remarkable days." Thus much is Banneker's: then follow Goddard and Angell; "Also several useful tables and valuable receipts—various selections from the common-place book of the Kentucky Philosopher, an American sage: with interesting and entertaining essays in prose and verse—the whole comprising a greater, more pleasing, and useful variety than any book of the *kind* and *price* in North America."

Besides his aptitude for mechanics, and his ability as a mathematician, Banneker was an acute observer, whose active mind was constantly receiving impulses from what was taking place around him. Many instances of this are to be found in the record of his calculations, which he seems to have used occasionally as a common-place book. For instance, under the date of the 27th of August, 1797, he writes: "Standing at my door, I heard the discharge of a gun, and in four or five seconds of time, after the discharge, the small shot came wrattling about me, one or two of which struck the house; which plainly demonstrates that the velocity of sound is greater than that of a cannon bullet." It must have been a philosophic mind, which observing the fact as here stated, drew from it the correct conclusion, and then recorded it in appropriate terms, as a simple and beautiful illustration of the law of nature, with which, in all probability he first became acquainted through its means.

Again on the 23d December, 1790, he writes: "About 3 o'clock, A. M. I heard the sound and felt the shock like unto heavy thunder. I went out, but could not observe any cloud above the horizon. I therefore conclude it must be a great earthquake in some part of the globe." A similar conclusion from the same facts was drawn by a greater man than Banneker near eighteen hundred years before,* and recorded to be commented on in after ages.

Nor was Banneker's observation confined to matters of a philosophical character. There is evidence in the memoranda of his record book, that natural history was equally interesting to him. The following, independent of its connection with the subject of our memoir, possesses general interest as an authentic statement by an eye-witness of a curious fact in entomology. In April, 1800, he writes: "The first great locust year that I can remember, was 1749. I was then about seventeen years of age, when thousands of them came and were creeping up the trees and bushes. I then imagined they came to eat and destroy the fruit of the earth, and would occasion a famine in the land. I therefore began to kill and destroy them, but soon saw that my labor was in vain, and therefore gave over my pretension." Again, in the year 1766, which is seventeen years after their first appearance, they made a second, and appeared to me to be full as numerous as the first. I then, being about thirty-four years of age, had more sense than to attempt to destroy them, knowing that they were not so pernicious to the fruit of the earth as I imagined they would be. Again, in the year 1783, which was seventeen years since their second appearance to me, they made their third; and they may be expected again in the year 1800, which is seventeen years since their third appearance to me. So that if I may venture to express it, their periodical return is seventeen years: but they, like the comets, make but a short stay with us. The female has a sting in her tail as sharp and hard as a thorn, with which she perforates the branches of the trees, and in the holes lays eggs. The branch soon dies and falls. Then the egg, by some occult cause, immerges a great depth into the earth, and there continues for the space of seventeen years as aforesaid."

"I like to forgot to inform, that if their lives are short, they are merry. They begin to sing or make a noise from first they come out of the earth till they die. The hindermost part rots off, and it does not appear to be any pain to them, for they still continue on singing till they die."

Again, there is the following record of a fact in natural history: "In the month of January, 1797, on a pleasant day for the season, I observed my honey bees to be out of their hives, and they seemed very busy, all but one hive. Upon examination, I found all the bees had evacuated this hive and left not a drop of honey behind them. On the 9th February ensuing, I killed the neighboring hives of bees on a special occasion, and found a great quantity of honey, considering the season—which I imagine the stronger had violently taken from the weaker, and the weaker had pursued them to their home, resolved to be benefited by their labor, or die in the contest."

The last extract we shall make from the record book, is one which indicates a relish for the beautiful in nature, as well by his undertaking to record a description of what he saw, as by the language which he uses. The extract is from the last pages of the book, when he was in his seventy-first year. His writing is still distinct, but the letters have lost their firmness, and show that his hand trembled as it held the pen.

"1803, February 2d. In the morning part of the day, there arose a very dark cloud, followed by snow and hail, a flash of lightning and loud thunder crack; and then the storm abated until afternoon, when another cloud arose at the same point, viz: the northwest, with a beautiful shower of snow. But what beautified the snow was the brightness of the sun, which was near setting at the time. I looked for the rainbow, or rather snowbow, but I think the snow was of too dense a nature to exhibit the representation of the bow in the cloud.

"N. B. The above was followed by very cold weather for a few days."

Soon after he had obtained the books already mentioned as having been lent him by Mr. George Ellicott, and became engrossed in his new studies, he found that it was necessary to have more time at his disposal than he had previously enjoyed, and also to be released from some cares that had occasionally annoyed him. The land on which he lived was divided into several small tenements, the rent of which contributed to Banneker's support. The collection of this rent was a source of constant trouble and vexation. His tenants quarrelled with him: they refused to pay him: if he insisted on payment, they annoyed him in a dozen different ways, until at last, saying that "it was better to die of hunger than of anger," he determined to sell his land for an annuity. He therefore made a careful calculation of the chances of his life upon such data as he could obtain, and the Ellicott family bought the land upon the terms proposed by him. In the same volume that contains his almanac in manuscript is an account current, by which it would seem that the annuity was £12 Maryland currency. This arrangement gave him the time he wanted, and the annuity, with the proceeds of his almanac, mainly supported him until he died. It is stated that the only imperfect calculation which Banneker ever made, was the calculation for this annuity. He lived eight years longer than the time prescribed. Other persons in later days have done the same where the insurance office has undertaken the calculation, so that Banneker's case is not a remarkable one in this respect. Notwithstanding the sale of the land he still resided on it and, as it would seem from a memorandum in his record book, continued to labor on it a portion of his time.* On the 24th of April, 1802, he speaks of being in the field, holeing for corn—and among the last entries made by him are charges for pasturage.

In 1804, Banneker died in the seventy-second year of his age, and his remains are deposited, without a stone to mark the spot, near the dwelling which he occupied during his lifetime. His land, of course, went at once into the possession of the Messrs. Ellicotts, and his personal property was disposed of by him to his friends before he died. There is no evidence that he made a will, or that there was administration on his estate, to be found in the records of the Orphan's Court, which have been examined with a view of adding to the few materials still existing for his biography. There are several persons now living who recollect Banneker well, and from these Mr. Benjamin H. Ellicott, of Baltimore, has collected the memoranda from which, with the materials furnished by his record book, this sketch has been prepared. The following is an extract from Mr. Ellicott's letter in regard to Banneker:

"During the whole of his long life he lived respectably and much esteemed by all who became acquainted with him, but more especially by those who could fully appreciate his genius and the extent of his acquirements. Although his mode of life was regular and extremely retired, living alone, having never married—cooking his own victuals, and washing his own clothes, and scarcely ever being absent from home, yet there was nothing misanthropic in his character, for a gentleman who knew him, thus speaks of him: 'I recollect him well. He was a brave looking pleasant man, with something very noble in his appearance. His mind was evidently much engrossed in his calculations; but he was glad always to receive the visits which we often paid to him.' Another of Mr. Ellicott's correspondents writes as follows: 'When I was a boy, I became very much interested in him (Banneker) as his manners were those of a perfect gentleman; kind, generous, hospitable, humane, dignified, and pleasing, abounding in information on all the various subjects and incidents of the day; very modest and unassuming, and delighting in society at his own house. I have seen him frequently. His head was covered with a thick suit of white hair, which gave him a venerable and dignified appearance. His dress was uniformly of superfine drab broad cloth, made in the old style of a plain coat, with a straight collar, and long waistcoat, and a broad brimmed hat. His color was not jet black, but decidedly negro. In size and personal appearance, the statue of Franklin at the Library in Philadelphia, as seen from the street, is a perfect likeness of him. Whenever I have seen it, it has always reminded me of Banneker. Go to his house when you would, either by day or night, there was constantly standing in the middle of the floor a large table covered with books and papers. As he was an eminent mathematician, he was constantly in correspondence with other mathematicians in this country, with whom there was an interchange of questions of difficult solution."

In the foregoing brief notice all is collected that can now be obtained in regard to Benjamin Banneker.

The extent of his knowledge is not so remarkable, as that he acquired what he did under the circumstances we have described. It might be said by those disposed to sneer at his simple history, if there be any such, that after all he was but an almanac-maker, a very humble personage in the ranks of astronomical science. But that the almanac-maker, of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, from 1791 to 1802, should have been a free black man, is, to use the language of Mr. Jefferson, a fact to which his whole color has a right for their justification against the doubts that have been entertained of them.

LETTER REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING MEMOIR.

MARYLAND, BALTIMORE COUNTY,
Near Ellicott's Lower Mills, Aug. 19th, 1791.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State:—Sir:—I am fully sensible of the greatness of that freedom, which I take with you on the present occasion, a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand, and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you, to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings who have long labored under the abuse and censure of the world, that we have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

Sir, I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature than many others, that you are measureably friendly and well disposed towards us, and that you are ready and willing to lend your aid and assistance to our relief, from those many distressed and numerous calamities, to which we are reduced.

Now, Sir, if this is founded in truth I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevails with respect to us, and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one universal father hath not only made us all of one flesh, but that he hath given being to us all, and that he hath also without partiality afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that however variable we may be in society or religion, however diversified in situation or color, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

Sir, if these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burden or oppression they may unjustly labor under, and this I apprehend a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves and for those inestimable laws, which preserves to you the rights of human nature was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous that every individual of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof, neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order, to their promotion from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

Sir, I freely and cheerfully acknowledge that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them of the deepest dye, and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that state of tyrannical thraldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty, with which you are favored, and which, I hope you will willingly allow, you have received from the immediate hand of that being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted with every powerful effort in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I entreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquillity which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of heaven.

This, Sir, was a time in which you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of Slavery, and in which you had just apprehension of the horrors of its condition; it was now, Sir, that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Here, Sir, was a time in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great valuation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled by nature; but, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others with respect to yourselves.

Sir, I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren, is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friends, "put your souls in their souls stead," thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards them, and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself nor others, in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, Sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren has caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candor and generosity, will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but that having taken up my pen, in order to direct to you as a present, a copy of an almanac, which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation, Sir, is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life; for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein through my own assiduous application to astronomical study, in which I need not to recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor, being taken up at the Federal Territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this State, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favorably receive, and although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own handwriting.

And now, Sir, I shall conclude and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, your most humble servant, B. BANNEKER.

THOS. JEFFERSON, Sec. of State, Philadelphia.

N. B. Any communication to me, may be had by a direction to Mr. Elias Ellicott, merchant, in Baltimore Town. B. B.

*Pliny.

*The deed from Banneker to the Ellicott's, Jonathan, Elias, George and John, is dated on the 10th March, 1799, and purports to convey 72 acres of a tract of land called "Stout," for the sum of £180 Maryland currency—which seems inconsistant with the idea of the annuity mentioned in the text. But the positive information of living witnesses, and the entries in the record book, kept by Banneker, seem to establish the fact that the annuity was paid prior to the date of the deed, the execution of which was perhaps postponed or neglected for many years after the agreement was made. A deed for twenty-eight acres of the tract, the balance of the one hundred acres, had been previously executed to Greenbury Morton, a cousin of Banneker's on the mother's side.

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